

PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

Translated from the Original Greek ;

WITH

NOTES,

CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL,

AND

A NEW LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

BY

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

MARCUS CRASSUS.

MARCUS CRASSUS, whose father had borne the office of censor, and been honoured with a triumph, was brought up in a small house with his two brothers. These married while their parents were living, and they all ate at the same table. This, we may suppose, contributed not a little to render him sober and moderate in his diet. Upon the death of one of his brothers, he took the widow and children into his house. With respect to women, there was not a man in Rome more regular in his conduct; though, when somewhat advanced in years, he was suspected of a criminal commerce with one of the vestal virgins named Licinia. Licinia was impeached by one Plotinus, but acquitted upon trial. It seems the vestal had a beautiful country-house, which Crassus wanting to have at an under-price, paid his court to the lady with great assiduity, and thence fell under that suspicion. His judges, knowing that avarice was at the bottom of all, acquitted him of the charge of corrupting the vestal: and he never let her rest till she had sold him her house.

The Romans say, Crassus had only that one vice of avarice, which cast a shade upon his many virtues. He appeared, indeed, to have but one bad quality, because it was so much stronger and more powerful than the rest, that it quite obscured them. His love of money is very evident from the size of his estate, and his manner of raising it. At first it did not exceed three hundred talents. But, during his public employments, after he had consecrated the tenth of his substance to Hercules, given an entertainment to the people, and a supply of bread corn to each citizen for three months, he found upon an exact computation, that he was master of seven thousand one hundred talents. The greatest part of this fortune, if we may declare the truth, to his extreme disgrace, was gleaned from war and from fires; for he made a traffic of the public calamities. When Sylla had taken Rome, and sold the estates of those whom he had put to death, which he both reputed and called the spoils of his enemies, he was desirous to involve all persons of consequence in his crime, and he found in Crassus a man who refused no kind of gift or purchase.

Crassus observed also how liable the city was to fires, and how frequently houses fell down; which misfortunes were owing to the weight of the buildings, and their standing so close together*. In consequence of this, he provided himself with slaves who were carpenters and masons, and went on collecting them till he had upwards of five hundred. Then he made it his business to buy houses that were on fire, and others that joined upon them; and he commonly had them at a low price, by reason of the fear and distress the owners were in about

* The streets were narrow and crooked, and the houses chiefly of wood, after the Gauls had burned the city.

the event. Hence, in time, he became master of great part of Rome. But though he had so many workmen, he built no more for himself than one house in which he lived. For he used to say, "That those who love building will soon ruin themselves, and need no other enemies."

Though he had several silver mines, and lands of great value, as well as labourers, who turned them to the best advantage, yet it may be truly asserted, that the revenue he drew from these was nothing in comparison of that produced by his slaves. Such a number had he of them, and all useful in life, readers, amanuenses, book-keepers, stewards; and cooks. He used to attend to their education, and often gave them lessons himself; esteeming it a principal part of the business of a master to inspect and take care of his servants, whom he considered as the living instruments of economy. In this he was certainly right, if he thought, as he often said, that other matters should be managed by servants, but the servants by the master. Indeed, economics, so far as they regard only inanimate things, serve only the low purposes of gain; but where they regard human beings, they rise higher, and form a considerable branch of politics. He was wrong, however, in saying, that no man ought to be esteemed rich, who could not with his own revenue maintain an army. For, as Archidamus observes, it never can be calculated what such a monster as war will devour. Nor consequently can it be determined what fortune is sufficient for its demands. Very different in this respect were the sentiments of Crassus from those of Marius. When the latter had made a distribution of lands among his soldiers at the rate of fourteen acres a man, and found that they wanted more, he said, "I hope no Roman will ever think that portion of land too little which is sufficient to maintain him."

It must be acknowledged, that Crassus behaved in a generous manner to strangers; his house was always open to them. To which we may add, that he used to lend money to his friends without interest. Nevertheless, his rigour in demanding his money the very day it was due, often made his appearing favour a greater inconvenience than the paying of interest would have been. As to his invitations, they were most of them to the commonalty; and though there was a simplicity in the provision, yet at the same time there was a neatness and unceremonious welcome, which made it more agreeable than more expensive tables.

As to his studies, he cultivated oratory, most particularly that of the bar, which had its superior utility. And though he might be reckoned equal, upon the whole, to the first-rate speakers, yet by his care and application he exceeded those whom nature had favoured more. For there was not a cause, however unimportant, to which he did not come prepared. Besides, when Pompey and Cæsar and Cicero refused to speak, he often rose and finished the argument in favour of the defendant. This attention of his to assist any unfortunate citizen was a very popular thing; and his obliging manner in his common address had any equal charm. There was not a Roman, however mean and insignificant, whom he did not salute, or whose salutation he did not return by name.

His knowledge of history is also said to have been extensive, and he was not without a taste of Aristotle's philosophy. In the latter branch he was assisted by a philosopher named Alexander*; a man who gave the most glorious proofs of his disinterested and mild disposition, during his acquaintance with

* Xylander conjectures this might be Alexander the Milesian, who is called Polyhistor and Carnellius; and who is said to have flourished in the time of Sylla.

Crassus. For it is not easy to say, whether his poverty was greater when he entered, or when he left his house. He was the only friend that Crassus would take with him into the country; on which occasions he would lend him a cloak for the journey, but demand it again when he returned to Rome. The patience of that man is truly admirable, particularly, if we consider that the philosophy he professed did not look upon poverty as a thing indifferent*. But this was a later circumstance in the life of Crassus.

When the faction of Cinna and Marius prevailed, it soon appeared that they were not returning for any benefit to their country, but for the ruin and destruction of the nobility. Part of them they had already caught and put to death; among whom were the father and brother of Crassus. Crassus himself, who was then a very young man, escaped the present danger. But, as he saw the tyrants had their hunters beating about for him on all sides, he took three friends and ten servants with him, and fled with surprising expedition into Spain; where he had attended his father during his praetorship, and gained himself friends. There, too, he found the minds of men full of terror, and all trembling at the cruelty of Marius, as if he had been actually present; therefore he did not venture to apply to any of his friends in public: Instead of that, he went into a farm which Vibius Celerus had contiguous to the sea, and hid himself in a spacious cave there. From thence he sent one of his servants to sound Vibius; for his provisions already began to fail. Vibius, delighted to hear that he had escaped, inquired the number of people he had with

* Aristotle's, as well as Plato's philosophy, reckoned riches among their virtues, and looked upon them as conducing to virtue.

him, and the place of his retreat. He did not wait on him in person, but sent immediately for the steward of that farm, and ordered him to dress a supper every day, carry it to the foot of the rock, and then retire in silence. He charged him not to be curious in examining into the affair, under pain of death; and promised him his freedom, if he proved faithful in his commission.

The cave is at a small distance from the sea. The surrounding rocks which form it admit only a slight and agreeable breath of air. A little beyond the entrance, it is astonishingly lofty, and the compass of it is so great, that it has several large caverns, like a suit of rooms, one within another. It is not destitute either of water or light. A spring of excellent water flows from the rock; and there are small natural apertures, where the rocks approach each other at top, through which daylight is admitted. By reason of the thickness of the rock, the interior air too is pure and clear; the foggy and moist part of it being carried away with the stream.

Crassus, in this asylum, had his provisions brought every day by the steward, who neither saw nor knew him or his people, though he was seen by them, because they knew his time, and watched for his coming. And he brought not only what was sufficient for use, but delicacies too for pleasure. For Vibius had determined to treat his friend with all imaginable kindness. He reflected that some regard should be paid to his time of life, and as he was very young, he should have some particular indulgences on that account. To supply his necessities only, he thought, looked more like constraint than friendship. Therefore, one day he took with him two handsome maid servants, and walked towards the sea. When they came to the cave, he showed them the entrance, and bade them go boldy in, for they had nothing to

fear. Crassus, seeing them, was afraid his retreat was discovered, and began to examine who they were, and what they wanted. They answered as they were instructed, "That they were come to seek their master who lay concealed there." Upon which, he perceived, it was only a piece of gallantry in Vibius, who studied to divert him. He received the damsels, therefore, and kept them all the time he stayed there; and they served to carry his messages to Vibius, and to bring answers back. Fenestella says*, he saw one of them when she was very old, and often heard her tell the story with pleasure.

Crassus spent eight months in this privacy, at the end of which he received intelligence that Cæna was dead. Then he immediately made his appearance, and numbers repaired to him; out of which he collected a corps of two thousand five hundred men.

With these he visited the cities; and most historians agree, that he pillaged one called Malacca. But others tell us, he absolutely denied it, and disclaimed the thing in the face of those who spread the report. After this, he collected vessels, and passed over into Africa, to join Metellus Pius, an officer of great reputation, who had raised considerable forces. He did not, however, stay long there. Upon some difference with Metellus, he applied himself to Sylla, who received him with pleasure, and ranked him among his principal friends.

When Sylla was returned to Italy, he chose to keep the young men he had about him, and sent them upon various commissions. Crassus he dispatched to levy troops among the Samnites; and, as his passage lay through the enemy's coun-

* Fenestella wrote several books of assaish. He might very well have seen one of these slaves when she was old; for he did not die till the sixth year of the reign of Tiberius, nor until he was seventy years of age.

ty, he demanded guards of Sylla. "I give thee for guards," said he, in an angry tone, "I give thee for guards, thy father, thy brother, thy friends, thy relations, who have been unjustly and abominably sacrificed, and whose cause I am going to revenge upon their murderers."

Crassus, roused and inflamed with these words, passed boldly through the midst of the enemy; raised a considerable army, and showed his attachment, as well as exerted his courage, in all Sylla's conflicts. Hence, we are told, came his first competition and dispute with Pompey for the palm of honour. Pompey was the younger man, and had the great advantage besides, that his father was more hated than any man in Rome. Yet his genius bore forth, with such lustre on these occasions, that Sylla treated him with more respect than he generally showed much older men, or even those of his own rank. For he used to rise up at his approach, and uncover his head, and salute him as *Imperator*.

Crassus was not a little piqued at these things, though there was no reason for his pretensions. He had not the capacity of Pompey; besides, his innate blemishes, his avarice and meanness, robbed his actions of all their grace and dignity. For instance, when he took the city of Tuder in Umbria, he was supposed to have appropriated the greatest part of the plunder to his own use, and it was represented in that light to Sylla. It is true, in the battle fought near Rome, which was the greatest and most decisive of all, Sylla was worsted, his troops repulsed, and a number of them killed. Moreover, Crassus, who commanded the right wing, victorious, and having pursued the enemy till night, sent to inform Sylla of his success, and to demand refreshments for his men.

But in the time of the prescriptions and confusions

tions, he lost all the credit he had gained; buying great estates at an under-price, and often begging such as he had cast his eye upon.. Nay, in the country of the Brutians, he is said to have proscribed one man without Sylla's order, merely to seize his fortune. Upon this, Sylla gave him up, and never after employed him in any public affair.

Though Crassus was an exquisite flatterer himself, yet no man was more easily caught by flattery than he. And what was very particular, though he was one of the most covetous men in the world, no man was more averse to, or more severe against, such that resembled him*. But it gave him still more pain to see Pompey so successful in all his accomplishments, to see him honoured with a triumph, and saluted by the citizens with the title of *the Great*. One day he happened to be told, "Pompey the Great was coming:" upon which, he answered with a scornful smile, "How big is he?"

As he despaired of rising to an equality with him in war, he betook himself to the administration; and by paying his court, by defending the impeached, by lending money, and by assisting and canvassing for persons who stood for offices, he gained an authority and influence equal to that which Pompey acquired by his military achievements. There was something remarkably peculiar in their case. The name and interest of Pompey were much greater in Rome, when he was absent and † distinguishing himself in the field. When present, Crassus often

* It has been observed by the late ingenious Mr. *Bayle* will be the first to find out and expose a conceit. Men, in the same virtues love each other for the sake of these virtues; but sympathy in vice or folly has generally a contrary effect.

† This was not peculiar to Pompey: it was the case of this and many others.

carried his point against him. This must be imputed to the state and grandeur that he affected: he seldom showed himself in public, or appeared in the assemblies of the people; and he very rarely served those who made application to him; imagining by that means he should have his interest entire when he wanted it himself. Crassus, on the contrary, had his services ever ready for those who wanted them; he constantly made his appearance; he was easy of access; his life was spent in business and good offices; so that his open and obliging manner got the better of Pompey's distance and state.

As to dignity of person, powers of persuasion, and engaging turn of countenance, we are told they were the same. But the emulation with which Crassus was agitated never carried him on to hatred and malignity. It is true, he was concerned to see Pompey and Cæsar held in greater honour, but he did not add rancour and malevolence to his ambition: though Cæsar, when he was taken by pirates, in Asia, and strictly confined, cried out, "O Crassus, what pleasure will it give thee to hear that I am taken!" However, they were afterwards upon a footing of friendship; and when Cæsar was going to set out for his command in Spain, and his creditors were ready to seize his equipage, because he could not satisfy them, Crassus was kind enough to deliver him from the embarrassment, by giving security for eight hundred and thirty talents.

Rome was at this time divided into three parties, at the head of which were Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus. For, as to Cato, his reputation was greater than his power, and his virtue more admired than followed. The prudent and steady part of the city were for Pompey; the violent and the enterprising gave into the prospects of Cæsar; Crassus stood a middle course, and availed himself of both. Cato

sus, indeed, often changed sides, and neither was a firm friend nor an implacable enemy. On the contrary, he frequently gave up either his attachments or resentments indifferently when his interest required it; insomuch that in a short space of time he would appear either in support or opposition to the same persons and laws. He had some influence founded in love, and some in fear; but fear was the more serviceable principle of the two. An instance of the latter we have in Licinius, who was very troublesome to the magistrates and leading orators of his time. When he was asked, why he did not attack Crassus among the rest, he answered, "He wears wings upon his horns*." So the Romans used to serve a vicious bull, for a warning to all persons that passed him.

When the gladiators took up arms and ravaged Italy, their insurrection was commonly called the war of Spartacus. Its origin was this: One Lentulus Batiatus kept a number of gladiators, the greatest part of which were Gauls and Thracians; men not reduced to that employment for any crimes they had committed, but forced upon it by the injustice of their master. Two hundred of them, therefore, agreed to make their escape. Though the plot was discovered, threescore and eighteen of them, by their extreme vigilance, were beforehand with their master, and sallied out of town, having first seized all the long knives and spits in a cook's shop. On the road they met some waggons carrying a quantity of gladiators' arms to another place. These they seized, and armed themselves with them. Then they retired to a place of strength, and made choice of three leaders†. The first was Spartacus,

* This passed into a proverb.

† Spartacus, Crixus, and Gannicus. This war began in the year of Rome 680; before Christ 71.

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Whose extraction was from one of those Thracian hordes called Nomades. This man had not only a dignity of mind, a strength of body, but a discernment and civility superior to his fortune. In short, he was more of a Greek than a barbarian, in his manner.

It is said, that when he was first brought to Rome to be sold, a serpent was seen twisted about his face as he slept. His wife, who was of the same tribe, having the gift of divination, and being a retainer besides to the orgies of Bacchus, said, it was a sign that he would rise to something very great and formidable, the result of which would be happy*. This woman still lived with him, and was the companion of his flight.

The fugitives first distinguished themselves by defeating a party sent against them from Capua; whose arms they seized and wore with great satisfaction; throwing away those of their pursuers, as dishonourable and barbarous. Clodius the prætor† was then sent against them from Rome, with a body of three thousand men; and he besieged them on the hill where they were posted. There was but one ascent, which was very narrow and rugged, and there he placed a sufficient guard. The rest was all a raggy precipice, but covered with wild vines. The fugitives cut off such of the branches as might be of most service, and formed them into a ladder of sufficient strength, and so long as to reach the plain beneath. By the help of this ladder they all got down safe, except one. This man remained above only to let down their arms; and when he had done that, he descended after them.

The Romans knowing nothing of this manoeuvre,

* His end was happy for a gladiator. He died fighting gallantly at the head of his troops.

† Clodius Glaber.

the gladiators came upon their rear, and attacked them so suddenly, that they fled in great consternation, and left their camp to the enemy. Spartacus was there joined by the herdsmen and shepherds of the country, men of great vigour, and remarkably swift of foot. Some of these he clad in heavy armour, and the rest served as reconnoitring parties and for other purposes of the light-armed.

The next general sent against these gladiators was Publius Varinus. They first routed his lieutenant Furius, who engaged them with a force of two thousand men. After this Spartacus watched the motions of Cossinius, who was appointed assistant and chief counsellor to Varinus, and was now marching against him with a considerable force. His vigilance was such, that he was very near taking Cossinius in the bath at Salernum; and though he did escape with much difficulty, Spartacus seized his baggage. Then he pursued his steps, and took his camp, in which he first killed great numbers of the Romans. Cossinius himself was among the slain. His subsequent operations were equally decisive. He beat Varinus in several engagements, and took his *lictors*, and the very horse he rode.

By this time he was become great and formidable. Nevertheless his views were moderate: he had too much understanding to hope the conquest of the Romans; and therefore led his army to the Alps, with an intention to cross them, and then to disperse his troops, that they might retire to their respective countries, some to Thrace, and some to Gaul. But they, relying upon their numbers, and elated with success, would not listen to his proposal. Instead of that, they laid Italy waste as they traversed it.

It was no longer the indignity and disgrace of this revolt that afflicted the senate; it was fear and danger; and they now employed both the consuls in

this war, as one of the most difficult and important they had ever had upon their hands. Gelius, one of the consuls, having surprised a body of Germans, who were so rash and self-opinionated as to separate from the troops of Spartacus, defeated them entirely and put them to the sword. Lentulus, the other consul, endeavoured to surround Spartacus, with his forces, which were very considerable. Spartacus met him fairly in the field, beat his lieutenants, and stripped them of their baggage. He then continued his route towards the Alps, but was opposed by Cassius, who commanded in that part of Gaul which lay about the Po, and came against him at the head of ten thousand men. A battle ensued, in which Cassius was defeated, with great loss, and saved himself not without difficulty.

Not sooner were the senate informed of these miserable proceedings, than they expressed the greatest indignation against the consuls, and gave orders that they should be superseded in the command. Crassus was the person they pitched upon as a successor, and many of the nobility served under him, as volunteers, as well on account of his political influence as from personal regard. He went and posted himself in the Picene, in order to intercept Spartacus, who was to march that way. At the same time he sent his lieutenant Mummius round with two legions; giving him strict orders only to follow the enemy, and by no means to hazard either battle or skirmish. Mummius, however, upon the first promising occasion, engaged Spartacus, and was entirely routed. Numbers fell upon the field of battle, and many others threw away their arms, and fled for their lives.

Crassus gave Mummius a severe reprimand, and new armed his men, but insisted withal that they should find security for their keeping those arms

they were now intrusted with. The first five hundred, who had shown the greatest marks of cowardice, he divided into fifty parts, and put one in each decade to death, to whose lot it might happen to fall; thus reviving an ancient custom of military punishment which had been long disused. Indeed, this kind of punishment is the greatest mark of infamy, and being put in execution in sight of the whole army, is attended with many awful and affecting circumstances.

After thus chastising his men, he led them against the enemy. But Spartacus turned back and retired through Lucania to the sea. The rebel happening to find a number of vessels in harbour belonging to the Cilician pirates, resolved to make an attempt upon Sicily; where, at the head of two thousand men, he thought he could easily rekindle the servile war, which had, but lately been smothered*, and which wanted little fuel to make it flame out again. Accordingly the pirates entered into agreement with him; but they had no sooner taken his money than they broke their engagement, and sailed another way. Spartacus, thus deceived, left the sea, and entrenched himself in the peninsula of Rhegium.

When Crassus came up, he observed that the nature of the place suggested what measures he should take; in consequence of which he determined to build a wall across the Isthmus. This, he knew, would at once keep his soldiers from idleness, and cut off the enemy's supplies. The work was great and difficult: nevertheless he finished it beyond all expectation, in a short time; drawing a trench from sea to sea three hundred furlongs in length, fifteen feet in breadth and as many in depth; he built a

* It was but nineteen years before, that a period was put to the Servile war in Sicily.

wall also above it of considerable height and strength.

Spartacus at first made a jest of the undertaking. But, when his plunder began to fail, and he wanted to go farther, he saw the wall before him, and at the same time was conscious that the peninsula was exhausted. He watched his opportunity, however, in a snowy and tempestuous night, to fill up the trench with earth, wood, and other materials; and so passed it with a third part of his army. Crassus now began to suspect that Spartacus, in the spirit of enterprise, would march immediately to Rome. But when he observed that a number of the enemy, upon some difference or other, separated and encamped upon the Lucanian lake, he recovered his spirits. The water of this lake is said to change in such a manner, as sometimes to be sweet and fresh, and at other times so salt, that it is impossible to drink it. Crassus fell upon this party, and drove them from the lake, but could not do any great execution, or continue the pursuit far, because Spartacus made his appearance, and rallied the fugitives.

Crassus now repented of having written to the senate, that it was necessary to recall *Lucullus from Thrace and Pompey from Spain*; and hastened to finish the war himself. For he was sensible that the general who should come to his assistance would rob him of all the honour. He resolved, therefore, at the first place, to attack the troops which had revolted, and formed a separate body, under the command of two officers named Cannicius and Castus. With this view, he sent a corps of six thousand men before to seize an eminence which he thought would be of service to him, but ordered them to conduct their enterprise with all imaginable secrecy. They observed his directions; and, to conceal their march the better, covered their helmets and the rest of their

arms. Two women, however, who were sacrificing before the enemy's camp, discovered them; and they would probably have met their fate, had not Crassus advanced immediately, and given the enemy battle. This was the most obstinate action in the whole war. Twelve thousand three hundred of the enemy were killed, of which number there were only two found wounded in the back; the rest died in their ranks, after the bravest exertions of valour.

Spartacus, after this defeat, retired towards the mountains of Petelia; and Quintus, one of Crassus's officers, and Scrophia the quæstor, marched forward, to harass his rear. But, Spartacus facing about, the Romans fled in the most dastardly manner, and with great difficulty carried off the quæstor who was wounded. This success was the ruin of Spartacus. It gave the fugitives such spirits, that they would no longer decline a decisive action, or be obedient to their officers; but as they were upon the road, addressed them with their swords in their hands, and insisted on marching back through Lucania with the utmost expedition, to meet the Romans, and face Crassus in the field.

This was the very thing that Crassus desired. He was informed that Pompey was approaching; and of the many speeches to the people on occasion of the ensuing election, in which it was asserted, that this laurel belonged to him, and that, as soon as he made his appearance, he would by some decisive stroke put an end to the war.

Crassus, therefore, hastened to give that stroke himself, and, with the same view, encamped very near the enemy. One day when he had ordered his soldiers to dig a trench, the gladiators attacked them as they were at work. Numbers came up continually on both sides to support the combatants; and at last Spartacus seeing what the case neces-

arily required, drew out his whole army. When they brought him his horse, he drew his sword and killed him, saying at the same time, "If I prove victorious, I shall have horses at command; if I am defeated, I shall have no need of this." His aim was to find Crassus, and he made his way through showers of darts and heaps of the slain. He did not, indeed, reach him, but he killed with his own hand two centurions who ventured to engage him. At last, those that seconded him fled. He however, stood his ground, and though surrounded by numbers, fought with great gallantry, till he was cut in pieces.

Crassus, on this occasion, availed himself of every circumstance with which Fortune favoured him; he performed every act of generalship; he exposed his person in the boldest manner; yet he was only wreathing a laurel for the brow of Pompey. Pompey met, it seems, those who escaped out of the field, and put them to the sword. In consequence of which, he wrote to the senate, "That Crassus had indeed beaten the fugitive gladiators in a pitched battle; but that it was he who had cut up the war by the roots."

Pompey, on his return to Rome, triumphed in a magnificent manner for his conquest of Sertorius and Spain. As for Crassus, he did not pretend to ask for the greater triumph; and even the less, which is led up on foot, under the name of an ovation, seemed to have no propriety or decorum in the conquest of fugitive slaves. In what respects this differs from the other, and whence the term *ovation* is derived, we have considered in the Life of Marcellus.

Pompey was immediately called to the consulship; and though Crassus had interest enough of his own to encourage him to hope for the same ho-

nour, yet he scrupled not to solicit his good offices. Pompey received the application with pleasure; for he was desirous by all means to have Crassus under an obligation to him. He, therefore, readily espoused his cause; and, at last, when he made his speech to the people, said, "he was as much indebted to them for the colleague they had given him as for their favour to himself." However, the same good understanding did not long continue; they differed about almost every article that came before them; and those disputes and altercations prevented their doing any thing considerable during their whole consulship. The most remarkable thing was, that Crassus offered a great sacrifice to Hercules, entertained the people at ten thousand tables, and gave them a supply of bread-corn for three months.

When they held one of the last assemblies before they quitted their charge, a Roman knight, named Onatius Aurelius, who had spent most of his time in a retired manner in the country, and was a man of no great note, mounted the rostrum, and gave the people an account of a vision that had appeared to him. "Jupiter," said he, "appeared to me in a dream, and commanded me to inform you in this public manner, that you are not to suffer the consuls to lay down their office before they are reconciled." He had no sooner ended his speech than the people insisted that they should be reconciled.—Pompey stood without making any motion towards it, but Crassus went and offered him his hand. "I am not ashamed, my fellow-citizens," said he, "nor do I think it beneath me, to make the first advances to Pompey, whom you distinguished with the name of Great, while he was but a beardless youth, and whom you honoured with a triumph before he was a senator."

These were the only memorable things in the con-

sulatus of Crassus. As for his censorship, it passed without any thing worth mentioning*. He made no inquisition into the lives and manners of the senators; he did not review the equestrian order, or number the people. Lutatius Catulus, one of the best natured men in the world, was his colleague; and it is said, that when Crassus wanted to adopt a violent and unjust measure, I mean the making Egypt tributary to Rome, Catulus strongly opposed it; and hence arose that difference, in consequence of which they resigned their charge.

When the great conspiracy of Catiline, which brought the commonwealth to the verge of destruction, broke out, Crassus was suspected of having some concern in it. Nay, there was one who named him among the conspirators; but no one gave credit to his information†. It is true, Cicero, in one of his orations, openly accuses both Crassus and Cæsar of that crime. But that oration did not appear in public till both those great men were dead. On the other hand, the same Cicero, in the oration he delivered relating to his consulship, expressly says, that Crassus came to him one night, and put a letter in his hands, which showed the reality of the plot into which they were then inquiring. Be that as it

* He was censor six years after his consulship, sixty-three years before the birth of Christ.

† Sallust says otherwise. He tells us it did appear incredible to some, but others believed it. Yet, not thinking it advisable to exasperate a man of so much power, they joined his retainers and those who owed him money, in crying it was a calumny, and in saying the senate ought to exculpate him; which accordingly they did. Some were of opinion, and Crassus himself among the rest, the informer was ensnared by Cicero. But what end could Cicero have in accusing a man of his consequence, unless it were to alarm the senate and people the more with a sense of their danger? And what could Crassus propose to himself in entering into a plot to hurt a city in which his property was so large?

may, it is certain that Crassus after this conceived a mortal hatred for Cicero, and would have shown it in some act of violence, had not his son Publius prevented it. Publius was a man of letters, and eloquence had a particular charm for him :—hence his attachment to Cicero was so great, that when the bill for his banishment was proposed, he went into mourning, and persuaded the rest of the Roman youth to do the same. At last, he even prevailed with his father to be reconciled to him.

About this time, Cæsar returned from his government, to solicit the consulship. Finding Crassus and Pompey again at variance, he would not ally to either in particular, lest he should make the other his enemy; nor could he hope to succeed without the assistance of one of them. In this dilemma he determined, if possible, to effect a good understanding once more between them. For which purpose he represented, “That, by leveling their artillery against each other, they raised the Ciceros, the Catuli, and the Catos; who would be nothing, if they were once real friends, and took care to act in concert. If that were the case,” said he, “with your united interests and counsels you might carry all before you.”

These representations had their effect; and, by joining himself to the league, he formed that invincible triumvirate which ruined the senate and people of Rome. Not that either Crassus or Pompey gained any advantage from their union; but Cæsar, by the help of both, climbed to the highest pinnacle of power. An earnest of this he had, in his being unanimously elected consul. And as he acquitted himself in his office with great honour, they procured him the command of armies, and decreed him the province of Gaul, where he was established, as in an impregnable castle. For, they imagined, if they

did but secure to him the province that was fallen to his lot, they might share the rest between them at their leisure.

It was the immoderate love of power which led Pompey into this error. And Crassus to his old disease of avarice now added a new one. The achievements, the victories, and triumphs of Cæsar raised in Crassus a passion for the same; and he could not be content to be beneath him in this respect, though he was so much superior in others. He therefore never let himself rest, till he met an inglorious fate, and involved his country in the most dreadful calamities.

On Cæsar's coming from Gaul to the city of Lucca, numbers went to wait upon him, and among the rest Crassus and Pompey. These, in their private conferences, agreed with him to carry matters with a higher hand, and to make themselves absolute in Rome. For this purpose Cæsar was to remain at the head of his army, and the other two chiefs to divide the rest of the provinces and armies between them. There was no way, however, to carry their scheme into execution, without suing for another consulship; in which Cæsar was to assist by writing to his friends, and by sending a number of his soldiers to vote in the election.

When Crassus and Pompey returned to Rome, their designs were very much suspected; and the general discourse was, that the late interview boded no good to the commonwealth. Hereupon, Marcellinus and Domitius* asked Pompey in full senate, "Whether he intended to solicit the consulship?" To which he answered, "Perhaps I may—perhaps not." And upon their interrogating him a second time, he said, "If I solicit it, I shall solicit it for men

* Domitius Ahenobarbus.

of honour, and not for men of a meaner principle." As this answer appeared to have too much of haughtiness and contempt, Crassus expressed himself with more moderation, "If it be for the public good, I shall solicit it—If not, I shall forbear."

By this some other candidates, and among the rest Domitius, were emboldened to appear; but as soon as Crassus and Pompey declared themselves, the rest dropped their pretensions. Only Domitius was exhorted and encouraged by his friend and kinsman Cato, "Not to abandon his prospects, but to stand boldly up for the liberties of his country. As for Pompey and Crassus, he said, they wanted not the consulship, but absolute power; nor was it so much their aim to be chief magistrates at home, as to seize the provinces, and to divide the armies between them."

Cato having thus expressed his real sentiments, drew Domitius almost forcibly into the *forum*, and numbers joined them there. For they were greatly surprised at this step of Crassus and Pompey. "Why do they demand," said they, "a second consulship? Why together? Why not with others? Have we not many persons of merit sufficient to entitle them to be colleagues with either Crassus or Pompey?"

Pompey's party, alarmed at these speeches, threw off the mask, and adopted the most violent measures. Among other outrages, they waylaid Domitius as he was going to the place of election before day, accompanied by his friends; killed the torch-bearer, and wounded many of his train, Cato among the rest. Then they shut them all up together till Crassus and Pompey were elected.

A little after this, they confined Domitius to his home, by planting armed men about it, drove Cato out of the *forum*, and killed several who made resistance. Having thus cleared the way, they conti-

ness Caesar in his government five years more, and got Syria and both the Spains for their own provinces. Upon casting lots, Syria fell to Crassus, and the Spains to Pompey.

The allotment was not disagreeable to the multitude. They chose to have Pompey not far from Rome; and Pompey, who passionately loved his wife, was very glad of the opportunity to spend most of his time there. As for Crassus, as soon as it appeared that Syria was his lot, he discovered the greatest joy, and considered it as the principal happiness of his life; insomuch that even before strangers and the populace he could hardly restrain his transports. To his intimate friends he opened himself more freely, expressing the most sanguine hopes and indulging in vain elevations of heart, unsuitable to his age and disposition: for in general he was far from being pompous or inclined to vanity. But now, extravagantly elated and corrupted by his flattering prospects, he considered not Syria and the Parthians as the termination of his good fortune; but intended to make the expedition of Lucullus against Tigranes, and of Pompey against Mithridates, appear only the sports of children. His design was to penetrate to the Bactrians, the Indians, the eastern ocean, and in his hopes he had already swallowed up the east.

In the law relating to the government of Crassus, no mention was made of a war in its neighbourhood; but all the world knew Crassus had an eye to it. And Caesar, in the letter he wrote to him from Gaul, commended his design, and encouraged him to attack the Parthians. But when he was getting to be sent, Ateius, one of the tribunes, threatened to stop him, and numbers joined the tribune's party. They could not without indignation think of his going to begin hostilities against a people who had done

them no injury, ~~they~~ were in fact their allies. Crassus, alarmed at ~~this~~ desired Pompey to conduct him out of Rome. He knew the dignity of Pompey, and the veneration the populace had for him; and on this occasion, though many were prepared to withstand Crassus and to raise a clamour against him, yet when they saw Pompey marching before him with an open and gay countenance, they dropped their resentment, and made way in silence.

Ateius, however, advanced to meet him. In the first place, by the authority of his office he commanded him to stop, and protested against his enterprise. Then he ordered one of his officers to seize him. But the other tribunes interposing, the officer let Crassus go. Ateius now ran before to the gate and placed there a censor with fire in it. At the approach of Crassus, he sprinkled incense upon it, offered libations, and uttered the most horrid imprecations, invoking at the same time certain dreadful and strange gods. The Romans say, these mysterious and ancient imprecations have such power* that the object of them never escapes their effect; nay, they add, that the person who uses them is sure to be unhappy; so that they are seldom used, and never but upon a great occasion. Ateius was much blamed for his rash zeal. It was for his country's sake that he was an adversary to Crassus, and yet it was his country he had laid under that dreadful curse.

Crassus, pursuing his journey, came to Brundisium; and though the winter storms made the voyage dangerous, he put to sea, and lost a number of vessels in his passage. As soon as he had collected the rest of his troops, he continued his route.

—Dira detestatio
Nulla expiatur victimi, Hon.

through Galatia. There he paid his respects to Diodotus, who, though an old man, was building a new city. Crassus laughed, and said, "You begin to build at the twelfth hour of the day!" The king laughed in his turn, and answered, "You do not set out very early in the morning against the Parthians!" Crassus, indeed, was then above sixty years of age*, and he looked much older than he was.

Upon his arrival in Syria, his affairs prospered at first according to his expectation. He threw a bridge over the Euphrates with ease, and his army passed it without opposition. Many cities in Mesopotamia voluntarily received him; and one only stood upon its defence. The prince who governed it was named Apollonius. The Romans having lost about an hundred men before it, Crassus marched against it with all his forces, took it by assault, plundered it of every thing valuable, and sold the inhabitants for slaves. The Greeks called that city Zenodotia†. Crassus, upon taking it, suffered his army to salute him *Imperator*; a thing which reflected no small disgrace upon him: it showed the meanness of his spirit, and his despair of effecting any thing considerable, when he valued himself upon such a trifling acquisition.

After he had garrisoned the towns that had submitted with seven thousand foot and a thousand horse, he returned into Syria, to winter. There he was joined by his son, whom Cæsar had sent to him from Gaul, adorned with military honours, and at the head of a thousand select horse.

Among the many errors which Crassus committed in this war, the first, and none of the least, was his

Crassus set out upon this expedition in the year of Rome
ann.

Zenodotia, in the province of Orhoëne.

returning so soon into Syria. He ought to have gone forward, and strengthened himself with the accession of Babylon and Seleucia, cities always at enmity with the Parthians: instead of which, he gave the enemy abundant time to prepare themselves. Besides, his occupations in Syria were greatly censured, having more of the trader in them than of the general. Instead of examining into the arms of his soldiers, keeping them in exercise, and improving their strength and activity by proper rewards, he was inquiring into the revenues of the cities, and weighing the treasures in the temple of the goddess of Hierapolis*. And though he fixed the quotas of troops, which the states and principalities were to furnish, he let them off again for a sum of money; which exposed him to the contempt of those whom he excused.

The first sign of his future fortune came from this very goddess, whom some call Venus, some Juno, others *Nature*, or that great principle which produces all things out of moisture, and instructs mankind in the knowledge of every thing that is good. As they were going out of the temple, young Crassus stumbled and fell at the gate, and his father fell upon him.

He was now drawing his troops out of winter-quarters, when ambassadors came from Arsaces, and addressed him in this short speech: "If this army was sent against the Parthians by the Roman people, that people has nothing to expect but perpetual war and enmity irreconcilable. But if Crassus, against the inclinations of his country, with

* About twenty miles from the Euphrates were great ruins known by the several names of Hambyce, Edem, &c. The goddess *Atargatis* was worshiped there with great devotion. Lucian mentions her temple as the richest in the world.

they were informed was the case), to gratify his own avarice, has undertaken this war, and invaded one of the Parthian provinces, Arsaces will act with more moderation. He will take compassion on Crassus's age, and let the Romans go, though in fact he considers them rather as in prison than in garrison." To this Crassus made no return but a rhodomontade: he said, "He would give them his answer at Seleucia." Upon which, Vagises, the oldest of the ambassadors, laughed; and turning up the palm of his hand, replied, "Crassus, here will hair grow before thou wilt see Seleucia."

The ambassadors then returned to their king Orodes*; and told him he must prepare for war. Meantime, some Romans escaped with difficulty from the cities they garrisoned in Mesopotamia, and brought a very alarming account of the enemy. "They said, they had been eyewitnesses to their immense numbers, and to their dreadful manner of fighting, when they attacked the towns." And, as it is usual for fear to magnify its object, they added, "It is impossible either to escape them when they pursue, or to take them when they fly. They have a new and strange sort of arrows, which are swifter than lightning, and reach their mark before you can see they are discharged; nor are they less fatal in their effects than swift in their course. The offensive arms of their cavalry pierce through every thing, and the defensive arms are so well tempered that nothing can pierce them."

* Here the king of Parthia is called Orodes, who before was called Arsaces. Arsaces was probably a name common to the kings of that country, and Orodes the proper name of this prince. He was the son of Phraates the second, and made his way to the crown through the blood of his elder brother Mithridates. For this he deservedly died the same kind of death.

The Roman soldiers were struck with this account, and their courage began to droop. They had imagined that the Parthians were not different from the Armenians and Cappadocians, whom Lucullus had beaten and driven before him till he was weary; and consequently that the hardest part of the expedition would be the length of the way, and the trouble of pursuing men who would never stand an engagement. But now they found they had war and danger to look in the face, which they had not thought of: insomuch that several of the principal officers were of opinion that Crassus ought to stop, and call a council to consider whether new measures ought not to be taken. Of this number was Cassius the questor. Besides, the soothsayers whispered, that the sacrifices were not accepted by the gods, and the signs appeared always inauspicious to the general. However, he paid no attention to them, nor to any but those who were for hastening his march.

He was the more confirmed in his intentions by the arrival of Artavasdes*, king of Armenia. That prince came with six thousand horse, which he said were only his body guard. He promised Crassus ten thousand more, armed at all points, and thirty thousand foot, all to be maintained at his own expense. At the same time, he advised him to enter Parthia by way of Armenia. "By that means," said he, "you will not only have plenty of provisions, which I shall take care to supply you with; but your march will be safe, as it will lie along a chain of mountains, and a country almost impracticable for cavalry, in which the Parthian strength consists." Crassus received his tender of service and his noble offer of succours but coldly; and said, "He should

* In the text he is here called Artabanus; but, as Ptolemy calls him Artavasdes every where afterwards, we thought it proper to put it so here.

march through Mesopotamia, where he had left a number of brave Romans." Upon this the Armenian bade him adieu, and returned to his own country.

As Crassus was passing the Euphrates at Zeugma, he met with dreadful bursts of thunder, and lightnings flamed in the face of his troops. At the same time, the black clouds emitted a hurricane mingled with fire, which broke down and destroyed great part of his bridge. The place which he had marked out for a camp was also twice struck with lightning. One of the general's war horses, richly caparisoned, running away with his rider, leaped into the river, and was seen no more. And it is said, when the foremost eagle was moved, in order for a march, it turned back of its own accord. Besides these ill tokens, it happened that when the soldiers had their provisions distributed, after they had crossed the river, they were first served with lentils and salt, which are reckoned ominous, and commonly placed upon the monuments of the dead. In a speech of Crassus to the army, an expression escaped him, which struck them all with horror. He said, "He had broke down the bridge, that not one of them might return." And when he ought, upon perceiving the impropriety of the expression, to have recalled or explained it to the intimidated troops, his obstinacy would not permit him. To which we may add, that in the sacrifice offered for the lustration of the army, the *crusper* having put the entrails in his hands, he let them fall. All that attended the ceremony were struck with astonishment; but he only said, with a smile, "See what it is to be old! My sword, however, shall not slip out of my hands in this manner."

Immediately after this, he began his march along the side of the Euphrates, with seven legions, near

four thousand horse, and almost as many of the light-armed. He had not gone far before some of his scouts returned, and told him, they had not found so much as one man in their excursions; but that there were many vestiges of cavalry, who appeared to have fled as if they had been pursued.

Crassus now began to be more sanguine in his hopes, and the soldiers to hold the enemy in contempt, upon a supposition that they durst not stand an encounter. Nevertheless, Cassius addressed himself to the general again, and advised him, "To secure his troops in some fortified town, till he should have some account of the enemy that might be depended upon. If he did not choose that, he desired him to keep along the river till he reached Seleucia: for by this means he would be constantly supplied with provisions from the vessels that would follow his camp; and the river preventing his being surrounded, he would always have it in his power to fight upon equal terms."

While Crassus was weighing these counsels with much deliberation, there arrived an Arabian chief named Ariamnes*. This artful and perfidious man was the principal instrument of all the calamities which fortune was preparing for the ruin of Crassus. Some of his officers who had served under Pompey, knew how much Ariamnes was indebted to that general's favour, and that in consequence he passed for a well-wisher to the Romans. But now, gained by the Parthian officers, he concerted with them a scheme to draw Crassus from the river and the higher grounds, into an immense plain which might easily be surrounded. For the enemy had of nothing less than fighting a pitched battle with the Romans.

* Appian and Dion Cassius call him Achabus or Agbarus.

This barbarian, then, addressing himself to Crassus, at first launched out into the praises of Pompey as his benefactor, for he was a voluble and a good speaker. Then he expressed his admiration of so fine an army, but withal took occasion to blame Crassus for his delays, and the time he spent in preparing; as if weapons, and not rather active hands and feet, were required against a people, who had long been determined to retire with their most valuable effects, and with their families and friends, to the Scythians and Hyrcanians. "Or suppose you have to fight," said he, "you ought to hasten to the encounter, before the king recover his spirits, and collect all his forces. At present he has only sent out Surena and Sillaces to amuse you, and to prevent your pursuit of himself. For his part, he will take care not to appear in the field."

This story was false in every circumstance. For Orodes had divided his army into two parts; with one of which he was ravaging Armenia, to wreak his vengeance upon Artavasdes; Surena was left with the other, to make head against the Romans. Not that the king (as some will have it) had any contempt for the Romans: for Crassus, one of the most powerful men Rome had produced, was not an antagonist whom he should despise, and think it a fairer field of honour to go and fight with Artavasdes, and lay waste Armenia. On the contrary; it is highly probable, it was his apprehension of danger which made him keep at a distance and watch the rising event; in order to which he sent Surena before him, to make trial of the enemy's strength and to tempt them with his stratagems. For Surena was no ordinary person; but in fortune, family, and honour, the first after the king; and in point of courage and capacity, as well as in size and beauty, superior to the Parthians of his time. If he went

only upon an excursion into the country, he had a thousand camels to carry his baggage, and two hundred carriages for his concubines. He was attended by a thousand heavy-armed horse, and many more of the light-armed rode before him. Indeed, his vassals and slaves made up a body of cavalry little less than ten thousand. He had the hereditary privilege in his family to put the diadem upon the king's head, when he was crowned. When Orodes was driven from the throne, he restored him; and it was he who conquered for him the great city of Seleucia, being the first to scale the wall, and beating off the enemy with his own hand. Though he was then not thirty years old, his discernment was strong, and his counsel esteemed the best. These were the talents by which he overthrew Crassus, who laid himself open to his arts, first by a too sanguine confidence, and afterwards by his fears and depression under misfortunes.

When Crassus had listened to the lure of Ariamnes, and left the river to march into the plain, the traitor led him a way that was smooth and easy at first; but after a while it became extremely difficult, by reason of the deep sands in which he had to wade, and the sight of a vast desert without wood or water, which afforded no prospect of repose or hope of refreshment. So that his troops were ready to give out, not only through thirst and the difficulty of the march, but through the comfortless and melancholy view before them of a country where there was neither tree nor stream to be seen, no hill to shelter them, no green herb growing, but the billows of an immense sea of sand surrounding the whole army.

These things gave them sufficient reason to suspect they were betrayed; but when the envoys of Artavasdes arrived, there was no room to doubt it.

That prince informed Crassus, "That Orodes had invaded his kingdom with a great army, so that now he could send the Romans no succours. Therefore he advised them to march towards Armenia, where with their united forces they might give Orodes battle. If Crassus did not relish this advice, he conjured him at least never to encamp upon any ground favourable to the cavalry, but to keep close to the mountains." Crassus in his resentment and infatuation would send no answer in writing; he only said, "He was not at leisure now to think of the Armenians, but by and by he would come and chastise their king for his perfidiousness." Cassius was extremely chagrined, but would not make any more remonstrances to the general, who was already offended at the liberty he had taken. He applied, however, to the barbarian in private, in such terms as these, "O thou vilest of impostors, what malevolent daemon has brought thee amongst us? By what potions, by what enchantments, hast thou prevailed upon Crassus to pour his army into this vast, this amazing desert; a march more fit for a Numidian robber than for a Roman general?" The barbarian, who had art enough to adapt himself to all occasions, humbled himself to Cassius, and encouraged him to hold out and have patience only a little longer. As for the soldiers, he rode about the ranks under a pretence of fortifying them against their fatigues, and made use of several taunting expressions to them, "What," said he, "do you imagine that you are marching through Campania? Do you expect the fountains, the streams, the shades, the baths, and houses of refreshment you meet with there? And will you never remember that you are traversing the barren confines of the Arabians and Assyrians?" Thus the traitor admonished, or rather insulted the Romans, and got off at

last before his imposture was discovered. Nor was this without the general's knowledge; he even persuaded him then, that he was going upon some scheme to put the enemy in disorder.

It is said, that Crassus on that day did not appear in a purple robe, such as the Roman generals used to wear, but in a black one; and when he perceived his mistake, he went and changed it. Some of the standards too were so rooted in the ground, that they could not be moved without the greatest efforts. Crassus only laughed at the omen, and hastened his march the more, making the foot keep up with the cavalry. Meantime the remains of a reconnoitring party returned, with an account that their comrades were killed by the Parthians, and that they had escaped with great difficulty. At the same time they assured him, that the enemy was advancing with very numerous forces, and in the highest spirits.

This intelligence spread great dismay among the troops, and Crassus was the most terrified of all. In his confusion he had scarce understanding enough about him to draw up his army properly. At first, agreeably to the opinion of Cassius, he extended the front of his infantry so as to occupy a great space of ground, to prevent their being surrounded, and distributed the cavalry in the wings. But soon altering his mind, he drew up the legions in a close square, and made a front every way, each front consisting of twelve cohorts. Every cohort had its troop of horse allotted it, that no part might remain unsupported by the cavalry, but that the whole might advance with equal security to the charge. One of the wings was given to Cassius, the other to young Crassus, and the general placed himself in the centre.

In this order they moved forward, till they came to a river called Balizus, which in itself was not considerable, but the sight of it gave great pleasure.

to the soldiers, as well on account of their heat and thirst, as the fatigues of a march through a dry and sandy desert. Most of the officers were of opinion that they ought to pass the night there, and after having got the best intelligence they could of the number of the enemy and their order, advanced against them at break of day. But Crassus, carried away by the eagerness of his son, and of the cavalry about him, who called upon him to lead them to the charge, commanded those who wanted refreshment to take it as they stood in their ranks. Before they had all done, he began his march, not leisurely and with proper pauses, as is necessary in going to battle, but with a quick and continued pace till they came in sight of the enemy, who appeared neither so numerous nor so formidable as they had expected. For Surena had concealed his main force behind the advanced guard, and, to prevent their being discovered by the glittering of their armour, he had ordered them to cover it with their coats or with skins.

When both armies were near enough to engage, and the generals had given the signal, the field resounded with a horrid din and dreadful bellowing. For the Parthians do not excite their men to action with cornets and trumpets, but with certain hollow instruments covered with leather, and surrounded with brass bells which they beat continually. The sound is deep and dismal, something between the howling of wild beasts and the crashing of thunder; and it was from sage reflection they had adopted it, having observed, that of all the senses, that of hearing soonest disturbs the mind, agitates the passions, and unhinges the understanding.

While the Romans were trembling at the horrid noise, the Parthians suddenly uncovered their arms, and appeared like battalions of fire, with the gleams

of their breastplates and their helmets of Margian steel polished to the greatest perfection. Their cavalry too, completely armed in brass and steel, shed a lustre no less striking. At the head of them appeared Surena, tall and well made; but his feminine beauty did not promise such courage as he was possessed of. For he was dressed in the fashion of the Medes, with his face painted, and his hair curled and equally parted; while the rest of the Parthians wore their hair in great disorder, like the Scythians, to make themselves look more terrible.

At first, the barbarians intended to have charged with their pikes, and opened a way through their foremost ranks; but when they saw the depth of the Roman battalions, the closeness of their order, and the firmness of their standing, they drew back, and, under the appearance of breaking their ranks and dispersing, wheeled about and surrounded the Romans. At that instant Crassus ordered his archers and light infantry to begin the charge. But they had not gone far before they were saluted with a shower of arrows, which came with such force and did so much execution, as drove them back upon the battalions. This was the beginning of disorder and consternation among the heavy-armed, when they beheld the force and strength of the arrows, against which no armour was proof, and whose keenness nothing could resist. The Parthians now separated, and began to exercise their artillery upon the Romans on all sides at a considerable distance; not needing to take an exact aim, by reason of the closeness and depth of the square in which their adversaries were drawn up. Their bows were light and strong, yet capable of bending till the arrows were drawn to the head; the force they used with was consequently very great, and the wounds they gave mortal.

The Romans were now in a dreadful situation. If they stood still, they were pierced through; if they advanced, they could make no reprisals, and yet were sure to meet their fate. For the Parthians shoot as they fly; and this they do with dexterity inferior only to the Scythians. It is indeed an excellent expedient, because they save themselves by retiring, and, by fighting all the while, escape the disgrace of flight.

While the Romans had any hopes that the Parthians would spend all their arrows and quit the combat, or else advance hand to hand, they bore their distresses with patience. But as soon as it was perceived, that behind the enemy there was a number of camels loaded with arrows, from whence the first ranks, after they emptied their quivers, were supplied, Crassus seeing no end to his sufferings, was greatly distressed. The step he took was to send orders to his son to get up with the enemy, and charge them, if possible, before he was quite surrounded: for it was principally against him that one wing of the Parthian cavalry directed their efforts, in hopes of taking him in the rear. Upon this, the young man took thirteen hundred horse, of which those he had from Cæsar made a thousand, five hundred archers, and eight cohorts of infantry which were next at hand, and wheeled about, to come to the charge. However, the Parthians, whether it was that they were afraid to meet a detachment that came against them in such good order, which some say was the case; or whether they wanted to draw young Crassus as far as they possibly could from his father, turned their backs and fled⁴. The young

⁴ It was their common method, not to stand a pitched battle with troops that were in any degree their match. In retreating and advancing, as occasion required, they knew the advantage they had in the swiftness of their horses, and in the excellence of their archers.

man cried out, *They dare not stand us*, and followed at full speed. So did Censorinus and Megabacchus*; the latter a man noted for his strength and courage, and the former a person of senatorial dignity, and an excellent orator. Both were intimate friends of young Crassus, and nearly of his age.

The cavalry kept on, and such was the alacrity and spirit of hope with which the infantry were inspired, that they were not left behind: for they imagined they were only pursuing a conquered enemy. But they had not gone far before they found how much they were deceived. The pretended fugitives faced about, and many others joining them, advanced to the encounter. The Romans, upon this, made a stand, supposing the enemy would come to close quarters with them, because their number was but small. The Parthians, however, only formed a line of their heavy armed cavalry opposite their adversaries, and then ordered their irregulars to gallop round, and beat up the sand and dust in such a manner, that the Romans could scarce either see or speak for the clouds of it. Besides, the latter were drawn up in so small a compass, and pressed so close upon each other, that they were a very fair mark for the enemy. Their death too was lingering. They rolled about in agonies of pain with the arrows sticking in them, and before they died, endeavoured to pull out the barbed points which were entangled within their veins and sinews; an effort that served only to enlarge their wounds and add to their torture.

Many died in this miserable manner, and those who survived were not fit for action. When Pub-

* It is not easy to say what Roman name Megabacchus could be the corruption of. Xylander tells us he found in an old translation *Gen. Plancus*. Probably that translator might have the authority of some manuscript.

lius* desired them to attack the heavy armed cavalry, they showed him their hands nailed to their shields, and their feet fastened to the ground, so that they could neither fight nor fly. He therefore encouraged his cavalry, and advanced with great vigour to the charge. But the dispute was by no means upon an equality, either in respect of attack or defence. For his men had only weak and short javelins to attempt the Parthian cuirasses, which were made either of raw hides or steel; while the enemy's strong pikes could easily make an impression upon the naked or light-armed Gauls. These were the troops in which he placed his chief confidence, and indeed he worked wonders with them. They laid hold on the pikes of the barbarians, and grappling with them pulled them from their horses, and threw them on the ground, where they could scarce stir, by reason of the weight of their own armour. Many of them even quitted their own horses, and getting under those of the Parthians, wounded them in the belly; upon which the horses, mad with pain, plunged and threw their riders, and treading them under foot along with the enemy, at last fell down dead upon both. What went hardest against the Gauls was heat and thirst, for they had not been accustomed to either. And they lost most of their horses by advancing furiously against the enemy's pikes.

They had now no resource but to retire to their infantry, and to carry off young Crassus, who was much wounded. But happening to see a hill of sand by the way, they retired to it; and having placed their horses in the middle, they locked their shields together all around, imagining that would prove the best defence against the barbarians. It hap-

* Young Crassus.

pened, however, quite otherwise. While they were upon plain ground, the foremost rank afforded some shelter to those behind ; but upon an eminence, the unevenness of the ground showed one above another, and those behind higher than those before, so that there was no chance for any of them to escape : they fell promiscuously, lamenting their inglorious fate, and the impossibility of exerting themselves to the last.

Young Crassus had with him two Greeks, named Hieronymus and Nicomachus, who had settled in that country in the town of Carræ. These advised him to retire with them, and to make his escape to Ichnæ, a city which had adopted the Roman interests, and was at no great distance. But he answered, " There was no death, however dreadful, the fear of which could make him leave so many brave men dying for his sake." At the same time he desired them to save themselves, and then embraced and dismissed them. As his own hand was transfixed with an arrow, and he could not use it, he offered his side to his armour-bearer, and ordered him to strike the blow. Censorinus is said to have died in the same manner. As for Megabacchus, he despatched himself with his own hand, and the other principal officers followed his example. The rest fell by the Parthian pikes, after they had defended themselves gallantly to the last. The enemy did not make above five hundred prisoners.

When they had cut off the head of young Crassus, they marched with it to his father, whose affairs were in this posture. After he had ordered his son to charge the Parthians, news was brought him that they fled with great precipitation, and that the Romans pursued them with equal vivacity. He perceived also, that on his side the enemy's operations were comparatively feeble ; for the greatest part of

them were then gone after his son. Hereupon he recovered his spirits in some degree, and drew his forces back to some higher ground, expecting every moment his son's return from the pursuit.

Publius had sent several messengers to inform him of his danger; but the first had fallen in with the barbarians, and were cut in pieces; and the last having escaped with great difficulty, told him his son was lost, if he had not large and immediate succours. Crassus was so distracted by different passions that he could not form any rational scheme. On the one hand, he was afraid of sacrificing the whole army, and on the other, anxious for the preservation of his son; but at last he resolved to march to his assistance.

Meantime the enemy advanced with loud shouts and songs of victory, which made them appear more terrible; and all the drums bellowing again in the ears of the Romans, gave the notice of another engagement. The Parthians coming forward with the head of Publius upon a spear, demanded, in the most contemptuous manner, whether they knew the family and parents of the young man. "For," said they, "it is not possible that so brave and gallant a youth should be the son of Crassus, the greatest dastard and the meanest wretch in the world."

This spectacle broke the spirits of the Romans more than all the calamities they had met with. Instead of exciting them to revenge, as might have been expected, it produced a horror and tremor which ran through the whole army. Nevertheless, Crassus, on this melancholy occasion, behaved with greater magnanimity than he had ever shown before. He marched up and down the ranks, and cried, "Romans, this loss is mine. The fortunes and glory of Rome stand safe and undiminished in you. If you have any pity for me, who am bereaved of the best

of sons, show it in your resentment against the enemy. Put an end to their triumph; avenge their cruelty. Be not astonished at this loss; they must always have something to suffer who aspire to great things. Lucullus did not pull down Tigranes, nor Scipio Antiochus, without some expense of blood. Our ancestors lost a thousand ships before they reduced Sicily, and many great officers and generals in Italy; but no previous loss prevented their subduing the conquerors. For it was not by her good fortune, but by the perseverance and fortitude with which she combated adversity, that Rome has risen to her present height of power."

Crassus, though he thus endeavoured to animate his troops, did not find many listen to him with pleasure. He was sensible their depression still continued, when he ordered them to shout for the battle; for their shout was feeble, languid, and unequal, while that of the barbarians was bold and strong. When the attack began, the light-armed cavalry, taking the Romans in flank, galled them with their arrows; while the heavy-armed, charging them in front with their pikes, drove them into a narrow space. Some, indeed, to avoid a more painful death from the arrows, advanced with the resolution of despair, but did not much execution. All the advantage they had was, that they were speedily despatched by the large wounds they received from the broad heads of the enemy's strong pikes, which they pushed with such violence, that they often pierced through two men at once*.

The fight continued in this manner all day; and when the barbarians came to retire, they said, "They would give Crassus one night to bewail his son; if he did not in the meantime consider better, and

* There is nothing incredible in this, for it is frequently done by the Tartars in the same mode of fighting at this day.

rather choose to go and surrender himself to Arsaces, than be carried." Then they sat down near the Roman army, and passed the night in great satisfaction, hoping to finish the affair the next day.

It was a melancholy and dreadful night to the Romans. They took no care to bury the dead, nor any notice of the wounded, many of whom were expiring in great agonies. Every man had his own fate to deplore. That fate appeared inevitable, whether they remained where they were, or threw themselves in the night into that boundless plain. They found a great objection too, against retiring, in the wounded; who would retard their flight, if they attempted to carry them off, and alarm the enemy with their cries, if they were left behind.

As for Crassus, though they believed him the cause of all their miseries, they wanted him to make his appearance and speak to them. But he had covered his head, chosen darkness for his companion, and stretched himself upon the ground. A sad example to the vulgar of the instability of fortune; and to men of deeper thought, of the effects of rashness and ill placed ambition. Not contented with being the first and greatest among many millions of men, he had considered himself in a mean light, because there were two above him.

Octavius, one of his lieutenants, and Cassius, endeavoured to raise him from the ground and console him, but found that he gave himself entirely up to despair. They then, by their own authority, summoned the centurions and other officers to a council of war, in which it was resolved they should retire. Accordingly they began to do so without sound of trumpet, and silently enough at first. But when the sick and wounded perceived they were going to be deserted, their doleful cries and lamentations filled the whole army with confusion and disorder. Still

greater terror seized them as they proceeded, the foremost troops imagining that those behind were enemies. They often missed their way, often stopped to put themselves in some order, or to take some of the wounded off the beasts of burden, and put others on. By these things they lost a great deal of time; insomuch that Ignatius only, who made the best of his way with three hundred horse, arrived at Carræ about midnight. He saluted the guards in Latin, and when he perceived they heard him, he bade them go and tell Coponius who commanded there, that Crassus had fought a great battle with the Parthians. Then, without explaining himself farther, or acquainting them who he was, he made off as fast as possible to Zeugma; by which means he saved himself and his troop; but, at the same time, was much blamed for deserting his general.

However, Crassus found his advantage in the hint given to Coponius. That officer considering that the hurry and confusion with which the message was delivered, betokened no good, ordered his men to arm; and as soon as he was apprized that Crassus was marching that way, he went out to meet him, and conducted his army into the town.

Though the Parthians in the night perceived the flight of the Romans, they did not pursue them; but at break of day they fell upon those that were left in the camp, and despatched them, to the number of four thousand. The cavalry also picked up many others who were straggling upon the plain. One of the Roman officers, named Varguntinus, who had wandered in the night from the main body with four cohorts, was found next morning posted upon a hill. The barbarians surrounded their little corps, and killed them all, except twenty men. These made their way through the enemy sword in hand, who, let them pass, and they arrived safe at Carræ.

A rumour was now brought to Surena, that Crassus with the best of his officers and troops had escaped, and that those who had retired into Carræ, were only a mixed multitude not worth his notice. He was afraid, therefore, that he had lost the fruits of his victory; but not being absolutely certain, he wanted better information, in order to determine whether he should besiege Carræ, or pursue Crassus, wherever he might have fled. For this purpose he despatched an interpreter to the walls, who was to call Crassus or Cassius in Latin, and tell them that Surena demanded a conference. As soon as the business of the interpreter was made known to Crassus he accepted the proposal. And not long after, certain Arabians arrived from the same quarter, who knew Crassus and Cassius well, having been in the Roman camp before the battle. These seeing Cassius upon the walls, told him, " Surena was ready to conclude a peace with them, on condition they would be upon terms of friendship with the king his master, and give up Mesopotamia: for he thought this more advantageous to both than coming to extremities." Cassius embraced the overture, and demanded that the time and place might be fixed for an interview between Surena and Crassus; which the Arabians undertook for, and then rode off.

Surena, delighted to find that the Romans were in a place where they might be besieged, led his Parthians against them the next day. These barbarians treated them with great insolence, and told them, if they wanted either peace or truce, they might deliver up Crassus and Cassius bound. The Romans, greatly afflicted at finding themselves so imposed upon, told Crassus, he must give up his distant and vain hopes of succour from the Armenians, and resolve upon flight. This resolution ought to have been concealed from all the inhabitants of Carræ till

the moment it was put in execution. But Crassus revealed it to Andromachus, one of the most perfidious amongst them, whom he also chose for his guide. From this traitor the Parthians learned every step that was taken.

As it was not their custom, nor consequently very practicable for them to fight in the night, and it was in the night that Crassus marched out, Andromachus contrived that they might not be far behind. With this view he artfully led the Romans sometimes one way, sometimes another, and at last entangled them among deep marshes and ditches, where it was difficult to get either forward or backward. There were several who conjectured from this shifting and turning, that Andromachus had some ill design, and therefore refused to follow him any farther. As for Cassius, he returned to Carræ; and when his guides, who were Arabians, advised him to wait till the moon had passed the Scorpion, he answered, "I am more afraid of the Sagittary*." Then making the best of his way, he got into Assyria with five hundred horse. Others finding faithful guides, reached the mountains of Sinnaca, and were perfectly secure, before it was light. These, about five thousand in number, were under the conduct of Octavius, a man of great merit and honour.

Meantime day overtook Crassus, while, through the treachery of Andromachus, he was wandering on bogs and other impracticable ground. He had with him only four cohorts of infantry, a very small number of horse, and five lictors. At length he regained the road with much labour and difficulty; but by this time the enemy was coming up. He was not above twelve furlongs behind the corps under Octavius. However, as he could not join him, all he could do was to retire to a hill, not so

* Alluding to the Parthian archers.

secure against cavalry as Sinnaca, but situated under those mountains, and connected with them by a long ridge which ran through the plain. Octavius, therefore, could see the danger Crassus was in, and he immediately ran down with a small band to his assistance. Upon this, the rest reproaching themselves for staying behind, descended from the heights, and falling upon the Parthians, drove them from the hill. Then they took Crassus in the midst of them, and fencing him with their shields, boldly declared, that no Parthian arrow should touch their general, while any of them were left alive.

Surena now perceiving that the Parthians were less vigorous in their attacks, and that if night came on, and the Romans gained the mountains, they would be entirely out of his reach, formed a stratagem to get Crassus into his hands. He dismissed some of his prisoners, after they had heard the conversation of the Parthian soldiers, who had been instructed to say, that the king did not want perpetual war with the Romans, but had rather renew the friendship and alliance by his generous treatment of Crassus. After this manœuvre, the barbarians withdrew from the combat, and Surena, with a few of his principal officers, advancing gently to the hill, where he unstrung his bow, and offering his hand, invited Crassus to an agreement. He said, "the king had hitherto, contrary to his inclinations, given proofs of his power, but now he would with pleasure show his moderation and clemency, in coming to terms with the Romans, and suffering them to depart in peace."

The troops received this proposal of Surena with joy. But Crassus, whose errors had all been owing to the Parthian treachery and deceit, and thought this sudden change in their behaviour a very suspicious circumstance did not accept the overture, but stood

deliberating. Hereupon, the soldiers raised a great outcry, and bade him go down. Then they proceeded to insults and reproaches, telling him, "He was very willing to expose them to the weapons of the Parthians, but did not dare to meet them himself, when they had laid down their arms, and wanted only a friendly conference."

At first he had recourse to entreaties, and represented, that if they would but hold out the remainder of the day, they might in the night gain the mountains and rocks, which would be inaccessible to cavalry. At the same time he pointed to the way, and begged them not to forego the hopes of safety when they had it so near. But when he found they received his address with anger, and clashing their arms in a menacing manner, he was terrified, and began to go; only turning round a moment to speak these few words, "You, Octavius, and you, Petronius, and all you Roman officers that are present, are witnesses of the necessity I am under to take this step, and conscious of the dishonour and violence I suffer. But, when you are safe, pray tell the world that I was deceived by the enemy, and not, that I was abandoned by my countrymen."

However, Octavius and Petronius would not stay behind; they descended the hill with him. His lictors too would have followed, but he sent them back. The first persons that met him, on the part of the barbarians, were two Greeks of the half breed. They dismounted and made Crassus a low reverence, and addressing him in Greek, desired he would send some of his people to see that Surenas and his company came unarmed, and without any weapons concealed about them. Crassus answered, "That if his life had been of any account with him, he should not have trusted himself in their hands." Nevertheless, he sent two brothers of the name of

Roscius before him, to inquire upon what footing, and how many of each side were to meet. Surena detained those messengers, and advanced in person with his principal officers on horseback. "What is this," said he, "I behold? A Roman general on foot, when we are on horseback?" Then he ordered a horse to be brought for him. But Crassus answered, "There was no error on either side, since each came to treat after the manner of his country." "Then," said Surena, "from this moment there shall be peace and an alliance between Orodes and the Romans; but the treaty must be signed upon the banks of the Euphrates: for you Romans remember your agreements very ill." Then he offered him his hand; and when Crassus would have sent for a horse, he told him, "There was no need; the king would supply him with one." At the same time a horse was brought with furniture of gold, and the equerries having mounted, Crassus began to drive him forward. Octavius then laid hold on the bridle; in which he was followed by Petronius, a legionary tribune. Afterwards the rest of the Romans who attended endeavoured to stop the horse, and to draw off those who pressed upon Crassus on each side. A scuffle and tumult ensued, which ended in blows. Thereupon Octavius drew his sword, and killed one of the Parthian grooms; and another coming behind, Octavius despatched him. Petronius, who had no arms to defend him, received a stroke on his breastplate, but leaped from his horse unwounded. Crassus was killed by a Parthian named Pomaxæthres*: though some say another despatched him, and Pomaxæthres cut off his head and right hand. Indeed, all these circumstances must be rather from conjecture than knowledge.

* Appian calls him Maxæthres, and in some copies of Plutarch he is called Axæthres.

For part of those who attended were slain in attempting to defend Crassus, and the rest had run up the hill on the first alarm.

After this, the Parthians went and addressed themselves to the troops at the top. They told them, Crassus had met with the reward his injustice deserved; but, as for them, Surena desired they would come down boldly, for they had nothing to fear. Upon this promise some went down and surrendered themselves. Others attempted to get off in the night; but very few of those escaped. The rest were hunted by the Arabians, and either taken or put to the sword. It is said, that in all there were twenty thousand killed, and ten thousand made prisoners.

Surena sent the head and hand to Orodes in Armenia; notwithstanding which he ordered his messengers to give it out at Seleucia, that he was bringing Crassus alive. Pursuant to this report, he prepared a kind of mock procession, which, by way of ridicule, he called triumph. Caius Pacianus, who, of all the prisoners, most resembled Crassus, was dressed in a rich robe in the Parthian fashion, and instructed to answer to the name of Crassus and title of general. Thus accoutred, he marched on horseback at the head of the Romans. Before him marched the trumpets and lictors, mounted upon camels. Upon the rods were suspended empty purses, and, on the axes, heads of the Romans newly cut off. Behind came the Seleucian courtesans with music, singing scurrilous and farcical songs upon the effeminacy and cowardice of Crassus.

These things were to amuse the populace. But after the farce was over, Surena assembled the senate of Seleucia, and produced the obscene books of Aristides, called *Milesiaks*. Nor was this a groundless invention to blacken the Romans. For the

books being really found in the baggage of Rustius *, gave Surena an excellent opportunity to say many sharp and satirical things of the Romans, who, even in the time of war, could not refrain from such libidinous actions and abominable books.

This scene put the Seleucians in mind of the wise remark of Æsop. They saw Surena had put the Milesian obscenities in the forepart of the wallet, and behind they beheld a Parthian sybaris †, with a long train of carriages full of harlots; insomuch that his army resembled the serpents called *scytalæ*. Fierce and formidable in its head, it presented nothing but pikes, artillery, and war horses; while the tail ridiculously enough exhibited prostitutes, musical instruments, and nights spent in singing and riot with those women. Rustius undoubtedly was to blame; but it was an impudent thing in the Parthians to censure the *Milesiæcs*, when many of the Arsacidæ who filled the throne were sons of Milesian or Ionian courtesans.

During these transactions, Orodes was reconciled to Artavasdes the Armenian, and had agreed to a marriage between that prince's sister and his son Pacoras. On this occasion they freely went to each other's entertainments, in which many of the Greek tragedies were presented. For Orodes was not unversed in the Grecian literature; and Artavasdes had written tragedies himself, as well as orations and histories, some of which are still extant. In one of these entertainments, while they were yet at table, the head of Crassus was brought to the door. Jason, a tragedian of the city of Tralles, was rehearsing the *Bacchæ* of Euripides, and the tragical adventures of Pentheus and Agave. All the company were

* One of the Bodleian manuscripts has it *Roscium*.

† Sybaris was a town in Lucania, famous for its luxury and effeminacy.

expressing their admiration of the pieces, when Sillaces entering the apartment prostrated himself before the king, and laid the head of Crassus at his feet. The Parthians welcomed it with acclamations of joy, and the attendants, by the king's order, placed Sillaces at the table. Hereupon, Jason gave one of the actors the habit of Pentheus, in which he had appeared, and putting on that of Agave, with the frantic air and all the enthusiasm of a Bacchanal, sung that part, where Agave presents the head of Pentheus upon her Thyrsus, fancying it to be that of a young lion—

Well are our toils repaid : On yonder mountain
We pierced the lordly savage.

Finding the company extremely delighted, he went on—

The *Chorus* asks, "Who gave the glorious blow?"
Agave answers, "Mine, mine is the prize."

Pomaxæthres, who was sitting at the table, upon hearing this started up, and would have taken the head from Jason, insisting that that part belonged to him, and not to the actor. The king, highly diverted, made Pomaxæthres the presents usual on such occasions, and rewarded Jason with a talent. The expedition of Crassus was a real tragedy, and such was the *exodium**, or farce after it.

However the Divine Justice punished Orodes for his cruelty, and Surena for his perjury. Orodes, envying the glory Surena had acquired, put him to death soon after. And that prince, having lost his

* *Exodium*, in its original sense, signified the unraveling of the plot, the catastrophe of a tragedy; and it retained that sense among the Greeks. But when the Romans began to act their light satirical pieces (of which they had always been very fond) after their tragedies, they applied the term to those pieces.

son Pacorus in a battle with the Romans, fell into a languishing disorder which turned to a dropsy. His second son Phraates took the opportunity to give him aconite. But finding the poison worked only upon the watery humour, and was carrying off the disease with it, he took a shorter method, and strangled him with his own hands*.

* There have been more execrable characters, but there is not, perhaps, in the history of mankind, one more contemptible than that of Crassus. His ruling passion was the most sordid lust of wealth, and the whole of his conduct, political, popular, and military, was subservient to this. If at any time he gave into public munificence, it was with him no more than a species of commerce. By thus treating the people, he was laying out his money in the purchase of provinces. When Syria fell to his lot, the transports he discovered sprung not from the great ambition of carrying the Roman eagles over the east: they were nothing more than the joy of a miser, when he stumbles upon a hidden treasure. Dazzled with the prospect of barbarian gold, he grasped with eagerness a command for which he had no adequate capacity. We find him embarrassed by the slightest difficulties in his military operations, and, when his obstinacy would permit him, taking his measures from the advice of his lieutenants. We look with indignation on the Roman squadrons standing, by his dispositions, as a mark for the Parthian archers, and incapable of acting either on the offensive or the defensive. The Romans could not be ignorant of the Parthian method of attacking and retreating, when they had before spent so much time in Armenia. The fame of their cavalry could not be unknown in a country where it was so much dreaded. It was, therefore, the first business of the Roman general to avoid those countries which might give them any advantage in the equestrian action. But the hot scent of eastern treasure made him a dupe even to the policy of the barbarians, and to arrive at this the nearest way, he sacrificed the lives of thirty thousand Romans.

NICIAS AND CRASSUS COMPARED.

ONE of the first things that occurs in this comparison is, that Nicias gained his wealth in a less exceptionable manner than Crassus. The working of mines, indeed, does not seem very suitable to a man of Nicias's character, where the persons employed are commonly malefactors or barbarians, some of which work in fetters, till the damps and unwholesome air put an end to their being.—But it is comparatively an honourable pursuit, when put in parallel with getting an estate by the confiscations of Sylla, or by buying houses in the midst of fires. Yet Crassus dealt as openly in these things as he did in agriculture and usury. As to the other matters which he was censured for, and which he denied, namely, his making money of his vote in the senate, his extorting it from the allies, his overreaching silly women by flattery, and his undertaking the defence of ill men; nothing like these things was ever imputed by Slander herself to Nicias. As to his wasting his money upon those who made a trade of impeachments, to prevent their doing him any harm, it was a circumstance which exposed him to ridicule; and unworthy, perhaps, of the characters of Pericles and Aristides; but necessary for him, who had a timidity in his nature. It was a thing which Lycurgus the orator afterwards made a merit of to the people: when censured for having bought off one of these trading informers, “I rejoice,” said he, “that after being so long employed in the administration, I am discovered to have given money, and not taken it.”

As to their expenses, Nicias appears to have been

more public spirited in his. His offerings to the gods, and the games and tragedies with which he entertained the people, were so many proofs of noble and generous sentiments. It is true, all that Nicias laid out in this manner, and, indeed, his whole estate, amounted only to a small part of what Crassus expended at once, in entertaining so many myriads of men, and supplying them with bread afterwards. But it would be very strange to me, if there should be any one who does not perceive that this vice is nothing but an inequality and inconsistency of character; particularly when he sees men laying out that money in an honourable manner, which they have got dishonourably. So much with regard to their riches.

If we consider their behaviour in the administration, we shall not find in Nicias any instance of cunning, injustice, violence, or effrontery. On the contrary, he suffered Alcibiades to impose upon him, and he was modest or rather timid in his applications to the people. Whereas Crassus, in turning from his friends to his enemies, and back again if his interest required it, is justly accused of an illiberal duplicity. Nor could he deny that he used violence to attain the consulship, when he hired ruffians to lay their hands upon Cato and Domitius. In the assembly that was held for the allotment of the provinces, many were wounded, and four citizens killed. Nay, Crassus himself struck a senator, named Lucius Annalius, who opposed his measures, upon the face with his fist (a circumstance which escaped us in his Life), and drove him out of the forum covered with blood.

But if Crassus was too violent and tyrannical in his proceedings, Nicias was as much too timid. His poltroonery and mean submission to the most abandoned persons in the state deserve the greatest

reproach. Besides, Crassus showed some magnanimity and dignity of sentiment, in contending, not with such wretches as Cleon and Hyperbolus, but with the glory of Cæsar, and the three triumphs of Pompey. In fact, he maintained the dispute well with them for power, and in the high honour of the censorship he was even beyond Pompey. For he who wants to stand at the helm, should not consider what may expose him to envy, but what is great and glorious, and may by its lustre force envy to speak behind. But if security and repose are to be consulted above all things; if you are afraid of Alcibiades upon the *rostrum* of the Lacedæmonians at Pylos, and of Perdiccas in Thrace, then surely, Nicias, Athens is wide enough to afford you a corner to retire to, where you may weave yourself the soft crown of tranquillity; as some of the philosophers express it. The love Nicias had for peace was, indeed, a divine attachment, and his endeavours, during his whole administration, to put an end to the war were worthy of the Grecian humanity. This alone places him in so honourable a light, that Crassus could not have been compared with him, though he had made the Caspian sea or the Indian ocean the boundary of the Roman empire.

Nevertheless, in a commonwealth which retains any sentiments of virtue, he who has the lead should not give place for a moment to persons of no principle; he should intrust no charge with those who want capacity, nor place any confidence in those who want honour. And Nicias certainly did this in raising Cleon to the command of the army, a man who had nothing to recommend him but his impudence and his bawling in the *rostrum*. On the other hand, I do not commend Crassus for advancing to action, in the war with Spartacus, with more expedition than prudence: though his ambition had this

excuse, that he was afraid Pompey would come and snatch his laurels from him, as Mummius had done from Metellus at Corinth. But the conduct of Nicias was very absurd and mean spirited. He would not give up to his enemy the honour and trust of commander in chief while he could execute that charge with ease, and had good hopes of success; but as soon as he saw it attended with great danger, he was willing to secure himself, though he exposed the public by it. It was not thus Themistocles behaved in the Persian war. To prevent the advancement of a man to the command who had neither capacity nor principle, which he knew must have been the ruin of his country, he prevailed with him by a sum of money to give up his pretensions. And Cato stood for the tribuneship, when he saw it would involve him in the greatest trouble and danger. On the contrary, Nicias was willing enough to be general, when he had only to go against Minoa, Cythera, or the poor Melians; but if there was occasion to fight with the Lacedæmonians, he put off his armour, and intrusted the ships, the men, the warlike stores, in short the entire direction of a war which required the most consummate prudence and experience, to the ignorance and rashness of Cleon, in which he was not only unjust to himself and his own honour, but to the welfare and safety of his country. This made the Athenians send him afterwards, contrary to his inclination, against Syracuse. They thought it was not a conviction of the improbability of success, but a regard to his own ease and a want of spirit, which made him willing to deprive them of the conquest of Sicily.

There is, however, this great proof of his integrity, that though he was perpetually against war, and always declined the command, yet they failed not to appoint him to it as the ablest and best general

they had. But Crassus, though he was for "ever aiming at such a charge, never gained one except in the war with the gladiators; and that only because Pompey, Metellus, and both the Lucullus's were absent. This is the more remarkable, because Crassus was arrived at a high degree of authority and power. But, it seems, his best friends thought him (as the comic poet expresses it)

In all trades skill'd, except the trade of war.

However this knowledge of his talents availed the Romans but little; his ambition never let them rest, till they assigned him a province. The Athenians employed Nicias against his inclination; and it was against the inclination of the Romans that Crassus led them out. Crassus involved his country in misfortunes; but the misfortunes of Nicias were owing to his country.

Nevertheless, in this respect, it is easier to commend Nicias than to blame Crassus. The capacity and skill of the former as a general kept him from being drawn away with the vain hopes of his countrymen, and he declared from the first that Sicily could not be conquered: the latter called out the Romans to the Parthian war, as an easy undertaking. In this he found himself sadly deceived; yet his aim was great. While Cæsar was subduing the west, the Gauls, the Germans, and Britain, he attempted to penetrate to the Indian ocean on the east, and to conquer all Asia; things which Pompey and Lucullus would have effected if they had been able. But though they were both engaged in the same designs, and made the same attempts with Crassus, their characters stood unimpeached both as to moderation and probity. If Crassus was opposed by one of the tribunes in his Parthian expedition, Pompey

was opposed by the senate when he got Asia for his province. And when Cæsar had routed three hundred thousand Germans, Cato voted that he should be given up to that injured people, to atone for the violation of the peace. But the Roman people, paying no regard to Cato, ordered a thanksgiving to the gods, for fifteen days, and thought themselves happy in the advantage gained. In what raptures then would they have been, and for how many days would they have offered sacrifices, if Crassus could have sent them an account from Babylon, that he was victorious; and if he had proceeded from thence through Media, Persia, Hyrcania, Susa, and Bactria, and reduced them to the form of Roman provinces. For, according to Euripides, if justice must be violated, and men cannot sit down quiet and contented with their present possessions, it should not be for taking the small town of Scandia, or razing such a castle as Mende; nor yet for going in chase of the fugitive Eginitæ, who, like birds, have retired to another country: the price of injustice should be high; so sacred a thing as right should not be invaded for a trifling consideration, for that would be treating it with contempt indeed. In fact, they who commend Alexander's expedition, and decry that of Crassus, judge of actions only by the event.

As to their military performances, several of Nicias's are very considerable. He gained many battles, and was very near taking Syracuse. Not were all his miscarriages so many errors; but they were to be imputed partly to his ill health, and partly to the envy of his countrymen at home. On the other hand, Crassus committed so many errors that Fortune had no opportunity to show him any favour, wherefore we need not so much wonder, that the Parthian power got the better of his incapacity, as

that his incapacity prevailed over the good fortune of Rome.

As one of them paid the greatest attention to divination, and the other entirely disregarded it, and yet both perished alike, it is hard to say whether the observation of omens is a salutary thing or not. Nevertheless, to err on the side of religion, out of regard to ancient and received opinions, is a more pardonable thing, than to err through obstinacy and presumption.

Crassus, however, was not so reproachable in his exit. He did not surrender himself, or submit to be bound, nor was he deluded with vain hopes; but in yielding to the instances of his friends he met his fate, and fell a victim to the perfidy and injustice of the barbarians. Whereas Nicias, from a mean and unmanly fondness for life, put himself in the enemy's hands, by which means he came to a baser and more dishonourable end.

SERTORIUS.

It is not at all astonishing that Fortune, in the variety of her motions through a course of numberless ages, happens often to hit upon the same point, and to produce events perfectly similar. For, if the number of events be infinite, Fortune may easily furnish herself with parallels in such abundance of matter: if their number be limited, there must necessarily be a return of the same occurrences, when the whole is run through.

Some there are who take a pleasure in collecting those accidents and adventures they have met with

in history or conversation, which have such a characteristic likeness, as to appear the effects of reason and foresight. For example, there were two eminent persons of the name of Attis*, the one a Syrian, the other an Arcadian, who were both killed by a boar. There were two Acteons, one of which was torn in pieces by his dogs, and the other by his lovers†. Of the two Scipios, one conquered Carthage, and the other demolished it. Troy was taken three times; the first time by Hercules, on account of Laomedon's horses; the second time by Agamemnon, through means of the wooden horse‡; the third by Charidemus, a horse happening to stand in the way, and hindering the Trojans from shutting the gates so quickly as they should have done. There are two cities that bear the names of the most odorous plants, *Ios*§ and *Smyrna*, *Violet* and *Myrrh*, and Homer is said to have been born in the one, and to have died in the other. To these instances

* Pausanias, in his *Achaïcs*, mentions one Attis or Attes, the son of Calaus the Phrygian, who introduced the worship of the mother of the gods among the Lydians. He was himself under a natural incapacity of having children, and therefore he might possibly be the first who proposed that all the priests of that goddess should be eunuchs. Pausanias adds, that Jupiter, displeased at his being so great a favourite with her, sent a boar, which ravaged the fields and slew Attis, as well as many of the Lydians. We know nothing of any other Attis.

† Acteon the son of Aristæus, was torn in pieces by his own dogs, and Acteon the son of Melissus by the Bacchidæ. See the Scholiast upon Apollonius, Book iv.

‡ These are all wooden instances of events being under the guidance of an intelligent being. Nay, they are such puerilities as Timæus himself scarce ever gave into.

§ Some suppose *Ios* to have been an island rather than a town. But if it was an island, there might be a town in it of the same name, which was often the case in the Greek islands.

we may add, that some of the generals who have been the greatest warriors, and have exerted their capacity for stratagem in the most successful manner, have had but one eye; I mean Philip, Antigonus, Hannibal, and Sertorius, whose life we are now going to write. A man whose conduct, with respect to women, was preferable to that of Philip, who was more faithful to his friends than Antigonus, and more humane to his enemies than Hannibal; but, though he was inferior to none of them in capacity, he fell short of them all in success. Fortune, indeed, was ever more cruel to him than his most inveterate and avowed enemies; yet he showed himself a match for Metellus in experience, for Pompey in noble daring, for Sylla in his victories, nay, for the whole Roman people in power; and was all the while an exile and a sojourner among barbarians.

The Grecian general who, we think, most resembles him, is Eumenes of Cardia*. Both of them excelled in point of generalship: in all the art of stratagem, as well as courage. Both were banished their own countries, and commanded armies in others. And both had to contend with Fortune, who persecuted them so violently, that at last they were assassinated through the treachery of those very persons whom they had often led to victory.

Quintus Sertorius was of a respectable family in the town of Nursia, and country of the Sabines. Having lost his father when a child, he had a liberal education given him by his mother, whom on that account he always loved with the greatest tenderness. Her name was Rhea. He was sufficiently qualified to speak in a court of justice; and by his abilities that way gained some interest, when but a youth, in Rome itself. But his greater talents for the

* In the Thracian Chersonesus.

camp, and his success as a soldier, turned his ambition into that channel.

He made his first campaign under Cæpio*, when the Cimbri and Teutones broke into Gaul. The Romans fought a battle, in which their behaviour was but indifferent, and they were put to the rout. On this occasion Sertorius lost his horse, and received many wounds himself, yet he swam the river Rhone, armed as he was with his breastplate and shield, in spite of the violence of the torrent. Such was his strength of body, and so much had he improved that strength by exercise.

The same enemy came on a second time, with such prodigious numbers, and such dreadful menaces, that it was difficult to prevail with a Roman to keep his post, or to obey his general. Marius had then the command, and Sertorius offered his service to go as a spy, and bring him an account of the enemy. For this purpose he took a Gaulish habit, and having learned as much of the language as might suffice for common address, he mingled with the barbarians. When he had seen and heard enough to let him into the measures they were taking, he returned to Marius, who honoured him with the established rewards of valour; and, during that whole war, he gave such proofs of his courage and capacity, as raised him to distinction, and perfectly gained him the confidence of his general.

After the war with the Cimbri and Teutones, he was sent as a legionary tribune, under Didius into Spain, and took up his winter quarters in Castulo†,

* In the printed text it is *Scipio*; but two manuscripts give us *Cæpio*. And it certainly was Q. Servilius Cæpio, who, with the consul Cn. Mallius, was defeated by the Cimbri, in the fourth year of the hundred and sixty-eighth olympiad, a hundred and three years before the Christian æra.

† A town of New Castile, on the confines of Andalusia.

a city of the Celtiberians. The soldiers, living in great plenty, behaved in an insolent and disorderly manner, and commonly drank to intoxication. The barbarians seeing this, held them in contempt; and one night having got assistance from their neighbours the Gyriscenians*, they entered the houses where they were quartered, and put them to the sword. Sertorius, with a few more, having found means to escape sallied out and collected all that he had got out of the hands of the barbarians. Then he marched round the town, and finding the gate open at which the Gyriscenians had been privately admitted, he entered; but took care not to commit the same error they had done. He placed a guard there, made himself master of all the quarters of the town, and slew all the inhabitants who were able to bear arms. After this execution, he ordered his soldiers to lay aside their own arms and clothes, and take those of the barbarians, and to follow him in that form to the city of the Gyriscenians. The people, deceived by the suits of armour and habits they were acquainted with, opened their gates, and sallied forth, in expectation of meeting their friends and fellow-citizens in all the joy of success. The consequence of which was, that the greatest part of them were cut in pieces at the gates: the rest surrendered, and were sold as slaves.

By this manœuvre, the name of Sertorius became famous in Spain; and upon his return to Rome, he was appointed quæstor in the Cisalpine Gaul. That appointment was a very seasonable one; for the Marian war soon breaking out, and Sertorius being employed to levy troops and to provide arms, he proceeded in that commission with such expedition

* The Gyriscenians being a people whom we know nothing of, it has been conjectured that we should read *Orisiani*. The *Orisiani* were of that district. See *Cellarius*.

and activity, that, while effeminacy and supineness were spreading among the rest of the Roman youth, he was considered as a man of spirit and enterprise.

Nor did his martial intrepidity abate, when he arrived at the degree of general. His personal exploits were still great, and he faced danger in the most fearless manner; in consequence of which he had one of his eyes struck out. This, however, he always gloried in. He said, others, did not always carry about with them the honourable badges of their valour, but sometimes laid aside their chains, their truncheons, and coronets; while he had perpetually the evidences of his bravery about him, and those who saw his misfortune, at the same time beheld his courage. The people, too, treated him with the highest respect. When he entered the theatre, they received him with the loudest plaudits and acclamations; an honour which officers distinguished for their age and achievements did not easily obtain.

Yet when he stood for the office of tribune of the people, he lost it through the opposition of Sylla's faction; which was the chief cause of his perpetual enmity against Sylla. When Marius was overpowered by Sylla, and fled for his life, and Sylla was gone to carry on the war against Mithridates, Octavius, one of the consuls, remained in Sylla's interest; but Cinna, the other consul, whose temper was restless and seditious, endeavoured to revive the sinking faction of Marius. Sertorius joined the latter; the rather because he perceived that Octavius did not act with vigour, and that he distrusted the friends of Marius.

Some time after, a great battle was fought by the consuls in the *forum*, in which Octavius was victorious, and Cinna and Sertorius having lost not much less than ten thousand men, were forced to fly. But, as there was a number of troops scattered up and

down in Italy, they gained them by promises, and with that addition found themselves able to make head against Octavius again. At the same time Marius arrived from Africa, and offered to range himself under the banners of Cinna, as a private man under the consul. The officers were of opinion that they ought to receive him; only Sertorius opposed it. Whether it was that he thought Cinna would not pay so much attention to him, when he had a man of so much greater name, as a general, in his army; or whether he feared, the cruelty of Marius would throw all their affairs into confusion again; as he indulged his resentments without any regard to justice or moderation whenever he had the advantage. He remonstrated, that as they were already superior to the enemy, they had not much left to do; but if they admitted Marius among them, he would rob them of all the honour and the power at the same time, for he could not endure an associate in command, and was treacherous in every thing where his own interest was concerned.

Cinna answered, that the sentiments of Sertorius were perfectly right, but that he was ashamed, and indeed knew not how to reject Marius, when he had invited him to take a part in the direction of affairs. Sertorius replied, "I imagined that Marius had come of his own accord into Italy, and pointed out to you what in that case was most expedient for you to do: but, as he came upon your invitation, you should not have deliberated* a moment whether he was to be admitted or not. You should have received him immediately. True honour leaves no room for doubt and hesitation."

Cinna then sent for Marius; and the forces being divided into three parts, each of these three great officers had a command. When the war was over,

* Qui deliberant deciverunt. TACIT.

Cinna and Marius gave into every kind of insolence and cruelty. Sertorius alone neither put any man to death to glut his own revenge, nor committed any other outrage: on the contrary, he reproached Marius with his savage proceedings, and applying to Cinna in private, prevailed with him to make a more moderate use of his power. At last, finding that the slaves, whom Marius had admitted his fellow soldiers, and afterwards employed as the guards of his tyranny*, were a strong and numerous body; and that, partly by order or permission of Marius, partly by their native ferocity, they proceeded to the greatest excesses, killing their masters, abusing their mistresses, and violating the children; he concluded, that these outrages were insupportable, and shot them all with arrows in their camp, though their number was not less than four thousand.

After the death of Marius, the assassination of Cinna that followed it, and the appointment of young Marius to the consulship, contrary to the will of Sertorius and the laws of Rome, Carbo, Scipio, and Norbanus carried on the war against Sylla, now returned to Italy, but without any success. For sometimes the officers behaved in a mean and dastardly manner, and sometimes the troops deserted in large bodies. In this case Sertorius began to think his presence of no importance, as he saw their affairs under a miserable direction, and that persons of the least understanding had most power. He was the more confirmed in this opinion, when Sylla, encamped near Scipio, and amusing him with caresses, under pretence of an approaching peace, was all the while corrupting his troops. Sertorius advertised Scipio of it several times, and told him what the event would be, but he never listened to him.

Then giving up Rome for lost, he retired with the

* The *Bardiænses*.

utmost expedition into Spain; hoping, if he could get the government there into his hands, to be able to afford protection to such of his friends as might be beaten in Italy. He met with dreadful storms on his way, and when he came to the mountains adjoining to Spain, the barbarians insisted that he should pay toll, and purchase his passage over them. Those that attended him were fired with indignation, and thought it an insufferable thing for a Roman proconsul to pay toll to such a crew of barbarians. But he made light of the seeming disgrace, and said, "Time was the thing he purchased, than which nothing in the world could be more precious to a man engaged in great attempts." He therefore satisfied the demands of the mountaineers, and passed over into Spain without losing a moment.

He found the country very populous, and abounding in youth fit for war, but at the same time the people, oppressed by the avarice and rapacity of former governors, were ill disposed towards any Roman government whatever. To remove this aversion, he tried to gain the better sort by his affable and obliging manner, and the populace by lowering the taxes. But his excusing them from providing quarters for the soldiers was the most agreeable measure. For he ordered his men to pass the winter in tents without the walls, and he set them the example. He did not, however, place his whole dependence upon the attachment of the barbarians. Whatever Romans had settled there, and were fit to bear arms, he incorporated with his troops; he provided such a variety of warlike machines, and built such a number of ships, as kept the cities in awe: and though his address was mild and gentle in peace, he made himself formidable by his preparations for war.

As soon as he was informed that Sylla had made

himself master of Rome, and that the faction of Marius and Carbo was entirely suppressed, he concluded that an army would soon be sent against him under the conduct of an able general. For this reason he sent Julius Salinator, with six thousand foot, to block up the passes of the Pyrenees. In a little time Caius Annius arrived on the part of Sylla; and seeing it impossible to dislodge Salinator, he sat down at the foot of the mountain, not knowing how to proceed. While he was in this perplexity, one Calpurnius, surnamed Lenarius, assassinated Salinator, and his troops thereupon quitting the Pyrenees, Annius passed them, easily repulsing with his great army the few that opposed him. Sertorius, not being in a condition to give him battle, retired with three thousand men to New Carthage; where he embarked, and crossed over to Africa. The Maurusian coast was the land he touched upon; and his men going on shore there to water, and not being upon their guard, the barbarians fell upon them, and killed a considerable number; so that he was forced to make back for Spain. He found the coasts guarded, and that it was impracticable to make descent there; but having met with some vessels of Cilician pirates, he persuaded them to join him, and made his landing good in the Isle of Pitiusa*, forcing his way through the guards which Annius had placed there.

Soon after Annius made his appearance with a numerous fleet, on board of which were five thousand men. Sertorius ventured to engage him; though his vessels were small, and made rather for swift sailing than strength. But a violent west-wind springing up, raised such a storm, that the greatest part of Sertorius's ships, being too light to bear up against it, were driven upon the rocky shore. Ser-

* *New Iota.*

torius himself was prevented by the storm from making his way at sea, and by the enemy from landing; so that he was tossed about by the waves for ten days together, and at last escaped with great difficulty.

At length the wind abated, and he ran in among some scattered islands in that quarter. There he landed; but finding they were without water, he put to sea again, crossed the Straits of Gades, and keeping to the right, landed a little above the mouth of the river Bætis, which running through a large track to discharge itself in the Atlantic Ocean, gives name to all that part of Spain through which it passes*. There he found some mariners lately arrived from the Atlantic Islands†. These are two in number, separated only by a narrow channel, and are at the distance of four hundred leagues‡ from the African coast. They are called the *Fortunate Islands*. Rain seldom falls there, and when it does, it falls moderately; but they generally have soft breezes, which scatter such rich dews, that the soil is not only good for sowing and planting, but spontaneously produces the most excellent fruits, and those in such abundance, that the inhabitants have nothing more to do than to indulge themselves in the enjoyment of ease. The air is always pleasant and salubrious, through the happy temperature of the seasons, and their insensible transition into each other. For the north and east winds which blow from our continent, in the immense track they have to pass, are dissipated and lost: while the sea winds, that is, the south and the west, bring with them from the ocean slight and gentle showers, but oftener only a refreshing moisture, which imperceptibly scatters plenty on their plains.- So that it is generally believed, even among

* *Bætis*, now *Andalusia*.

† The *Canaries*.

‡ In the original, *ten thousand furlongs*.

the barbarians, that these are the Elysian Fields; and the seats of the blessed, which Homer has described in all the charms of verse*.

Sertorius hearing these wonders, conceived a strong desire to fix himself in those islands, where he might live in perfect tranquillity, at a distance from the evils of tyranny and war. The Cilicians, who wanted neither peace nor repose, but riches and spoils, no sooner perceived this, than they bore away for Africa, to restore Ascalis the son of Iphtha to throne of Mauritania. Sertorius, far from giving himself up to despair, resolved to go and assist the people who were at war with Ascalis, in order to open to his troops another prospect in this new employment, and to prevent their relinquishing him for want of support. His arrival was very acceptable to the *Moors*, and he soon beat Ascalis in a pitched battle; after which he besieged him in the place to which he retired.

Hereupon, Sylla interposed, and sent Pacoianus with a considerable force to the assistance of Ascalis. Sertorius meeting him in the field, defeated and killed him; and having incorporated his troops with his own, assaulted and took the city of Tingis†, whither Ascalis and his brothers had fled for refuge. The Africans tell us, the body of Antæus lies there; and Sertorius, not giving credit to what the barbarians related of his gigantic size, opened his tomb for satisfaction. But how great was his surprise, when (according to the account we have of it) he beheld a body sixty cubits long. He immediately offered sacrifices, and closed up the tomb; which added greatly to the respect and reputation it had before.

* *Odyss.* IV.

† In the text *Tingens*. Strabo tells us, the barbarians call it *Tinga*, that Artemidorus gives it the name of *Linga*, and Eratosthenes that of *Lisus*.

The people of Tinga relate, that after the death of Antæus, Hercules took his widow Tinga to his bed, and had by her a son named Sophax, who reigned over that country, and founded a city to which he gave his mother's name. They add, that Diodorus, the son of Sophax, subdued many African nations with an army of Greeks, which he raised out of the colonies of Olbians and Myceneans settled here by Hercules. These particulars we mention for the sake of Juba, the best of all royal historians ; for he is said to have been a descendant of Sophax and Diodorus, the son and grandson of Hercules.

Sertorius having thus cleared the field, did no sort of harm to those who surrendered themselves or placed a confidence in him. He restored them their possessions and cities, and put the government in their hands again ; taking nothing for himself but what they voluntarily offered him.

As he was deliberating which way he should next turn his arms, the Lusitanians sent ambassadors to invite him to take the command among them. For they wanted a general of his reputation and experience, to support them against the terror of the Roman eagles ; and he was the only one on whose character and firmness they could properly depend. Indeed, he is said to have been proof against the impressions both of pleasure and fear ; intrepid in time of danger, and not too much elated with more prosperous fortune ; in any great and sudden attempt as daring as any general of his time, and where art and contrivance, as well as despatch, was necessary for seizing a pass or securing a strong hold, one of the greatest masters of stratagem in the world ; noble and generous in rewarding great actions, and in punishing offences very moderate.

It is true his treatment of the Spanish hostages in the latter part of his life, which bore such strong

marks of cruelty and revenge, seems to argue that the clemency he showed before, was not a real virtue in him, but only a pretended one, taken up to suit his occasions. I think, indeed, that the virtue which is sincere, and founded upon reason, can never be so conquered by any stroke whatever, as to give place to the opposite vice. Yet dispositions naturally humane and good, by great and undeserved calamities, may possibly be soured a little, and the man may change with his fortune. This, I am persuaded, was the case of Sertorius; when fortune forsook him, his disposition was sharpened by disappointment, and he became severe to those who injured or betrayed him.

At present, having accepted the invitation to Lusitania, he took his voyage from Africa thither. Upon his arrival he was invested with full authority as general, and levied forces, with which he reduced the neighbouring provinces. Numbers voluntarily came over to him, on account of his reputation for clemency as well as the vigour of his proceedings. And to these advantages he added artifice to amuse and gain the people.

That of the hind was none of the least*. Spanus, a countryman who lived in those parts, happening to fall in with a hind which had newly yeanned, and which was flying from the hunters, failed in his attempt to take her; but charmed with the uncommon colour of the fawn, which was a perfect white, he pursued and took it. By good fortune Sertorius had his camp in that neighbourhood; and whatever was brought to him taken in hunting, or of the productions of the field, he received with pleasure, and returned the civility with interest. The countryman went and offered him the fawn. He received this

* Sertorius had learned these arts of Marius.

present like the rest, and at first took no extraordinary notice of it. But in time it became so tractable and fond of him, that it would come when he called, follow him wherever he went, and learned to bear the hurry and tumult of the camp. By little and little he brought the people to believe there was something sacred and mysterious in the affair; giving it out that the fawn was a gift from Diana, and that it discovered to him many important secrets. For he knew the natural power of superstition over the minds of the barbarians. In pursuance of his scheme, when the enemy was making a private eruption into the country under his command, or persuading some city to revolt, he pretended the fawn had appeared to him in a dream, and warned him to have his forces ready. And if he had intelligence of some victory gained by his officers, he used to conceal the messenger, and produce the fawn crowned with flowers for its good tidings; bidding the people rejoice and sacrifice to the gods, on account of some news they would soon hear.

By this invention he made them so tractable that they obeyed his orders in every thing without hesitation, no longer considering themselves as under the conduct of a stranger, but the immediate direction of heaven. And the astonishing increase of his power, far beyond all they could rationally expect, confirmed them in that persuasion. For, with two thousand six hundred men, whom he called Romans (though among them there were seven hundred Africans who came over with him) and an addition of four thousand light-armed Lusitanians and seven hundred horse, he carried on the war against four Roman generals, who had a hundred and twenty thousand foot, six thousand horse, two thousand archers and slingers, and cities without number under their command; though at first he had twenty

cities only. Nevertheless, with so trifling a force, and such small beginnings, he subdued several great nations, and took many cities. Of the generals that opposed him, he beat Cotta at sea in the Straits over against Mellaria; he defeated Phidius* who had the chief command in Bætica, and killed four thousand Romans upon the banks of the Bætis. By his quæstor he beat Domitius and Lucius Manlius, proconsul of the other Spain; he likewise slew Thoranius†, one of the officers sent against him by Metellus, together with his whole army. Nay, Metellus himself, a general of as great reputation as any the Romans then had, was entangled by him in such difficulties, and reduced to such extremities, that he was forced to call in Lucius Lollius from Gallia Narbonensis to his assistance, and Pompey the Great was sent with another army from Rome with the utmost expedition. For Metellus knew not what measures to take against so daring an enemy, who was continually harassing him, and yet would not come to a pitched battle, and who, by the lightness and activity of the Spanish troops, turned himself into all manner of forms. He was sufficiently skilled, indeed, in set battles, and he commanded a firm heavy-armed infantry, which knew how to repulse and bear down any thing that would make head against them, but had no experience in climbing mountains, or capacity to vie in flying and pursuing men as swift as the wind; nor could his troops bear hunger, eat any thing undressed, or lie upon the ground without tents, like those of Sertorius. Besides, Metellus was now

* Xylander has it *Didius*, which is agreeable to some manuscripts; Crusierus, upon conjecture only, reads it *Aufidius*. Feinsheim, in his Supplement to Livy (xc. 28.) calls this general *Furidius*; and he might do it upon authority of some ancient manuscript of Plutarch.

† Florus has it *Therius*.

advanced in years, and after his many campaigns and long service, had begun to indulge himself in a more delicate way of living : whereas Sertorius was in the vigour of his age, full of spirits, and had brought strength and activity to the greatest perfection by exercise and abstemiousness. He never indulged in wine, even when he had nothing else to do ; and he had accustomed himself to bear labour and fatigue, to make long marches, and pass many successive nights without sleep, though supported all the while with mean and slender diet. By bestowing his leisure on hunting and traversing all the country for game, he had gained such a knowledge of the impracticable as well as open parts of it, that when he wanted to fly, he found, no manner of difficulty in it ; and if he had occasion to pursue or surround the enemy, he could execute it with ease.

Hence it was that Metellus, in being prevented from coming to any regular action, suffered all the inconveniences of a defeat ; and Sertorius gained as much by flying as he could have done by conquering and pursuing. For he cut his adversary off from water, and prevented his foraging. If the Romans began to march, he was on the wing to harass them ; and if they sat still, he galled them in such a manner, that they were forced to quit their post. If they invested a town, he was soon upon them, and by cutting off their convoys, as it were besieged the besiegers : insomuch, that they began to give up the point, and to call upon Metellus to accept the challenge that Sertorius had given ; insisting that general should fight with general, and Roman with Roman ; and when he declined it, they ridiculed and abused him. Metellus only laughed at them, and he did perfectly right ; for, as Theophrastus says, " A general should die like a general, and not like a common soldier."

He found that the Langobritæ were very serviceable to Sertorius, and perceived, at the same time, that he might soon bring them to surrender for want of water; for they had but one well in the city, and an enemy might immediately make himself master of the springs in the suburbs, and under the walls. He therefore advanced against the town; but concluding he should take it within two days, he ordered his troops to take only five days provisions with them. But Sertorius gave the people speedy assistance. He got two thousand skins, and filled them with water, promising a good reward for the care of each vessel or skin. A number of Spaniards and Moors offered their service on this occasion; and having selected the strongest and swiftest of them, he sent them along the mountains, with orders, when they delivered these vessels, to take all useless persons out of the town, that the water might be fully sufficient for the rest during the whole course of the siege.

When Metellus was informed of this manœuvre, he was greatly concerned at it; and as his provisions began to fail, he sent out Aquilius with six thousand men to collect fresh supplies. Sertorius, who had early intelligence of it, laid an ambush for Aquilius, and upon his return, three thousand men, who were placed in the shady channel of a brook for the purpose, rose up and attacked him in the rear. At the same time Sertorius himself, charged him in front, killed a considerable number of his party, and took the rest prisoners. Aquilius got back to Metellus, but with the loss both of his horse and his arms; whereupon Metellus retired with disgrace, greatly insulted and ridiculed by the Spaniards.

This success procured Sertorius the admiration and esteem of the Spaniards; but what charmed

them still more was, that he armed them in the Roman manner, taught them to keep their ranks, and to obey the word of command; so that, instead of exerting their strength in a savage and disorderly manner, and behaving like a multitude of banditti, he polished them into regular forces. Another agreeable circumstance was, that he furnished them with abundance of gold and silver to gild their helmets, and enrich their shields; and that he taught them to wear embroidered vests, and magnificent coats; nor did he give them supplies only for these purposes, but he set them the example*. The finishing stroke was, his collecting, from the various nations, the children of the nobility into the great city of Osca†, and his furnishing them with masters to instruct them in the Grecian and Roman literature. This had the appearance only of an education, to prepare them to be admitted citizens of Rome, and to fit them for important commissions; but in fact, the children were so many hostages. Meanwhile the parents were delighted to see their sons in gowns bordered with purple, and walking in great state to the schools, without any expense to them. For Sertorius took the whole upon himself, often examining besides into the improvements they made, and distributing proper rewards to those of most merit, among which were the golden ornaments furling down from the neck, called by the Romans *bullæ*.

It was then the custom in Spain, for the band which fought near the general's person, when he fell to die with him. This manner of devoting themselves to death, the barbarians call a *Libation*‡.

* Alexander had taken the same method, before him, among the Persians. For he ordered thirty thousand Persian boys to be taught Greek, and trained in the Macedonian manner.

† A city in Hispania Tarraconensis.

‡ In Gaul, the persons who laid themselves under this obligation, were called *Soldarii*. Cæsar. de Bell. Gall. l. iii.

The other generals had but a few of these guards or knights companions; whereas Sertorius was attended by many myriads, who had laid themselves under that obligation. It is said, that when he was once defeated near the walls of a town, and the enemy were pressing hard upon him, the Spaniards, to save Sertorius, exposed themselves without any precaution. They passed him upon their shoulders, from one to another, till he had gained the walls, and when their general was secure, then they dispersed, and fled for their own lives.

Nor was he beloved by the Spanish soldiers only, but by those which came from Italy too. When Perpenna Vento, who was of the same party with Sertorius, came into Spain with a great quantity of money, and a respectable army, intending to proceed in his operations against Metellus upon his own bottom; the troops disliked the scheme, and nothing was talked of in the camp but Sertorius. This gave great uneasiness to Perpenna, who was much elated with his high birth and opulent fortune. Nor did the matter stop here. Upon their having intelligence that Pompey had passed the Pyrenees, the soldiers took up their arms and standards, and loudly called upon Perpenna to lead them to Sertorius; threatening, if he would not comply, to leave him, and go to a general who knew how to save both himself and those under his command. So that Perpenna was forced to yield, and he went and joined Sertorius with fifty-three cohorts*.

Sertorius now found himself at the head of a great army; for, besides the junction of Perpenna, all the countries within the Iberus had adopted his interest, and troops were daily flocking in on all sides. But it gave him pain to see them behave with the dis-

* A cohort is the tenth part of a legion.

order and ferocity of barbarians; to find them calling upon him to give the signal to charge, and impatient of the least delay. He tried what mild representations would do, and they had no effect. They still continued obstinate and clamorous, often demanding the combat in a very unseasonable manner. At last he permitted them to engage in their own way, in consequence of which they would suffer great loss, though he designed to prevent their being entirely defeated. These checks, he hoped, would make them more willing to be under discipline.

The event answered his expectation. They fought and were beaten; but making up with succours, he rallied the fugitives, and conducted them safe into the camp. His next step was to rouse them up out of their despondence. For which purpose, a few days after, he assembled all his forces, and produced two horses before them; the one old and feeble, the other large and strong, and remarkable besides for a fine flowing tail. By the poor weak horse stood a robust able-bodied man, and by the strong horse stood a little man of a very contemptible appearance. Upon a signal given, the strong man began to pull and drag about the weak horse by the tail, as if he would pull it off; and the little man to pluck off the hairs of the great horse's tail, one by one. The former tugged and toiled a long time to the great diversion of the spectators and at last was forced to give up the point; the later, without any difficulty, soon stripped the great horse's tail of all its hair*. Then Sertorius rose up and said, "You see, my friends and fellow-soldiers, how much greater are the effects of perseverance, than those of force, and that there are many things invincible in their collective capacity

* Horace alludes to this, l. ii. ep. 1.

and in a state of union, which may gradually be overcome when they are once separated. In short, perseverance is irresistible. By this means, time attacks and destroys the strongest things upon earth. Time, I say, who is the best friend and ally to those that have the discernment to use it properly, and watch the opportunities it presents, and the worst enemy to those who will be rushing into action when it does not call them." By such symbols as these, Sertorius applied to the senses of the barbarians, and instructed them to wait for proper junctures and occasions.

But his contrivance with respect to the Characitani gained him as much admiration as any of his military performances whatever. The Characitani are seated beyond the river Tagus. They have neither cities nor villages, but dwell upon a large and lofty hill, in dens and caverns of the rocks, the mouths of which are all to the north. The soil of all the country about it is a clay, so very light and crumbly, that it yields to the pressure of the foot, is reduced to powder by the least touch, and flies about like ashes or unslaked lime. The barbarians, whenever they are apprehensive of an attack, retire to these caves with their booty, and look upon themselves as in a place perfectly impregnable.

It happened that Sertorius, retiring to some distance from Metellus, encamped under this hill; and the savage inhabitants imagining he retired only because he was beaten, offered him several insults. Sertorius, either provoked at such treatment, or willing to show them he was not flying from any enemy, mounted his horse the next day, and went to reconnoitre the place. As he could see no part in which it was accessible, he almost despaired of taking it, and could only vent his anger in vain menaces. At last he observed, that the wind blew

the dust in great quantities towards the mouths of the caves, which, as I said before, are all to the north. The north wind, which some call *Cæcias**, prevails most in those parts; taking its rise from the marshy grounds, and the mountains covered with snow. And as it was then the height of summer, it was remarkably strong, having fresh supplies from the melting of the ice on the northern peaks; so that it blew a most agreeable gale, which in the daytime refreshed both these savages and their flocks.

Sertorius reflecting upon what he saw, and being informed by the neighbouring Spaniards that these were the usual appearances, ordered his soldiers to collect vast quantities of that dry and crumbly earth, so as to raise a mount of it over against the hill. The barbarians imagining he intended to storm their strong holds from that mount, laughed at his proceedings. The soldiers went on with their work till night, and then he led them back into the camp. Next morning, at break of day, a gentle breeze sprung up, which moved the lightest part of the heap, and dispersed it like smoke; and as the sun got up higher the *Cæcias* blew again, and by its violence covered all the hill with dust. Meantime the soldiers stirred up the heap from the very bottom, and crumbled all the clay; and some galloped up and down to raise the light earth, and thicken the clouds of dust in the wind; which carried them into the dwellings of the Characitani; their entrances directly facing it. As they were caves, and, of course, had no other aperture, the eyes of the inhabitants were soon filled, and they could scarce breathe for the suffocating dust which they drew in with the air. In these wretched circumstances they held out two

* *Mediâ inter Aquilonem et Exortum Æquinoctialem.*
 PLIN. l. ii. c. 47.

† *Narrant et in Ponto Cæcias in se trahere suber. Ib.*

days, though with great difficulty, and the third day surrendered themselves to Sertorius at discretion; who by reducing them, did not gain such an accession of strength as of honour. For an honour it was to subdue those by policy, whom his arms could not reach.

While he carried on the war against Metellus only, his success in general was imputed to the old age and inactivity of his adversary, who had to contend with a bold young man, at the head of troops so light, that they might pass rather for a marauding party, than a regular army. But when Pompey had passed the Pyrenees, and Sertorius took post against him, every art of generalship on both sides was exhausted, and yet even then it appeared, that in point both of attack and defence, Sertorius had the advantage. In this case, the fame of Sertorius greatly increased, and extended itself as far as Rome, where he was considered the ablest general of his time. Indeed, the honour Pompey had acquired was very considerable, and the actions he had performed under Sylla, set him in a very respectable light, insomuch that Sylla had given him the appellation of *the Great*, and he was distinguished with a triumph, even before he wrote man. This made many of the cities, which were under the command of Sertorius, cast their eyes upon Pompey, and inclined them to open their gates to him. But they returned to their old attachment, upon the unexpected success that attended Sertorius at Lauron*.

Sertorius was besieging that place, and Pompey marched with his whole army to its relief. There was a hill at some distance from the walls, from which the city might be greatly annoyed. Sertorius hastened to seize it, and Pompey to prevent him:

* A city of Hither Spain, five leagues from Valencia.

but the former gained the post. Pompey, however, sat down by it with great satisfaction, thinking he had been fortunate enough to cut Sertorius off from the town; and he sent a message to the Lauronites, "That they might be perfectly easy, and sit quietly upon their walls, while they saw him besiege Sertorius." But when that general was informed of it, he only laughed, and said, "I will teach that scholar of Sylla" (so in ridicule he called Pompey), "that a general ought to look behind him, rather than before him." At the same time he showed the besieged a body of six thousand foot in the camp which he had quitted, in order to seize the hill, and which had been left there on purpose to take Pompey in the rear, when he should come to attack Sertorius in the post he now occupied.

Pompey, not discovering this manœuvre till it was too late, did not dare to begin the attack, lest he should be surrounded. And yet he was ashamed to leave the Lauronites in such extreme danger. The consequence was, that he was obliged to sit still and see the town lost. The people, in despair of assistance, surrendered to Sertorius, who was pleased to spare the inhabitants, and let them go free; but he laid their city in ashes. This was not done out of anger, or a spirit of cruelty (for he seems to have indulged his resentment less than any other general whatever), but to put the admirers of Pompey to the blush; while it was said among the barbarians, that though he was at hand, and almost warmed himself at the flame, he suffered his allies to perish.

It is true, Sertorius received many checks in the course of the war; but it was not where he acted in person; for he ever continued invincible; it was through his lieutenants. And such was his manner of rectifying the mistakes, that he met with more applause than his adversaries in the midst of their

success. Instances of which we have in the battle of Sucro with Pompey, and in that of Tutia* with both Pompey and Metellus.

As to the battle of Sucro, we are told it was fought the sooner, because Pompey^a hastened it, to prevent Metellus from having a share in the victory. This was the very thing Sertorius wanted, to try his strength with Pompey, before Metellus joined him. Sertorius came up and engaged him in the evening. This he did out of choice, in the persuasion that the enemy, not being acquainted with the country, would find darkness a hinderance to them, whether they should have occasion to fly or to pursue. When they came to charge, he found that he had not to do with Pompey, as he could have wished, but that Afranius commanded the enemy's left wing, opposite to him, who was at the head of his own right wing. However, as soon as he understood that his left gave way to the vigorous impressions of Pompey, he put his right under the direction of other officers, and hastened to support that which had the disadvantage. By rallying the fugitives, and encouraging those who kept their ground, he forced Pompey to fly in great confusion, who before was pursuing: nay, that general was in the greatest danger; he was wounded, and got off with difficulty. For the Africans, who fought under the banners of Sertorius, having taken Pompey's horse, adorned with gold and other rich furniture, left the pursuit, to quarrel about dividing the spoil. In the meantime, when Sertorius was flown from his right wing to succour the other in distress, Afranius overthrew all before him, and closely pursuing the fugitives, entered their camp with them, which he pillaged till it was

^a Grævius conjectures, that we should read *Tutia*, the *Tutius* being a river which falls into the Sacro.

dark ; he knew nothing of Pompey's defeat, and was unable to keep the soldiers from plundering, if he had desired it. At this instant Sertorius returns with the laurels he had won, falls upon the troops of Afranius which were scattered up and down the camp, and destroys great numbers of them. Next morning he armed, and took the field again ; but perceiving that Metellus was at hand, he drew off and decamped. He did it, however, with an air of gaiety : " If the old woman," said he, " had not been here, I would have flogged the boy well, and sent him back to Rome."

He was, notwithstanding, much afflicted for the loss of his hind. For she was an excellent engine in the management of the barbarians, who now wanted encouragement more than ever. By good fortune some of his soldiers, as they were strolling one night about the country, met with her, and knowing her by the colour, brought her to him. Sertorius, happy to find her again, promised the soldiers large sums, on condition they would not mention the affair. He carefully concealed the hind ; and a few days after appeared in public with a cheerful countenance to transact business, telling the barbarian officers that he had some extraordinary happiness announced to him from heaven in a dream. Then he mounted the tribunal, for the despatch of such affairs as might come before him. At that instant the hind being let loose near the place by those who had the charge of her, and seeing Sertorius, ran up with great joy, leaped upon the tribunal, laid her head upon his lap, and licked his right hand, in the manner to which she had long been trained. Sertorius returned her caresses with all the tokens of a sincere affection, even to the shedding of tears. The assembly at first looked on with silent astonishment ; but afterwards they testified their regard for

Sertorius with the loudest plaudits and acclamations, as a person of a superior nature beloved by the gods. With these impressions they conducted him to his pavilion, and resumed all the hopes and spirits with which he could have wished to inspire them.

He watched the enemy so close in the plains of Seguntum, that they were in great want of provisions; and as they were determined at last to go out to forage and collect necessaries, this unavoidably brought on a battle. Great acts of valour were performed on both sides. Memmius, the best officer Pompey had, fell in the hottest of the fight. Sertorius carried all before him, and through heaps of the slain made his way towards Metellus, who made great efforts to oppose him, and fought with a vigour above his years, but at last was borne down with the stroke of a spear. All the Romans, who saw or heard of his disaster, resolved not to abandon their general, and from an impulse of shame as well as anger, they turned upon the enemy, and sheltered Metellus with their shields, till others carried him off in safety. Then they charged the Spaniards with great fury, and routed them in their turn.

As victory had now changed sides, Sertorius, to secure a safe retreat for his troops, as well as convenient time for raising fresh forces, had the art to retire into a city strongly situated upon a mountain. He repaired the walls, and barricaded the gates, as though he thought of nothing less than standing a siege. The enemy, however, were deceived by appearances. They invested the place, and, in the imagination that they should make themselves masters of it without difficulty, took no care to pursue the fugitive barbarians, or to prevent the new levies which the officers of Sertorius were making. These officers he had sent to the towns under his command, with instructions, when they had assembled a suffi-

cient number, to send a messenger to acquaint him with it.

Upon the receipt of such intelligence, he sallied out, and having made his way through the enemy without much trouble, he joined his new-raised troops, and returned with that additional strength. He now cut off the Roman convoys both by sea and land: at land, by laying ambushes or hemming them in, and, by the rapidity of his motions, meeting them in every quarter: at sea, by guarding the coast with his light piratical vessels. In consequence of this, the Romans were obliged to separate. Metellus retired into Gaul, and Pompey went and took up his winter quarters in the territories of the Vacceians, where he was greatly distressed for want of money; insomuch that he informed the senate, he should soon leave the country, if they did not supply him; for he had already sacrificed his own fortune in the defence of Italy. Indeed, the common discourse was, that Sertorius would be in Italy before Pompey. So far had his capacity prevailed over the most distinguished and the ablest generals in Rome.

The opinion which Metellus had of him, and the dread of his abilities, was evident from a proclamation then published; in which Metellus offered a reward of an hundred talents of silver, and twenty thousand acres of land to any Roman who should take him; and if that Roman was an exile, he promised he should be restored to his country. Thus he plainly discovered his despair of conquering his enemy, by the price which he set upon him. When he happened once to defeat him in a pitched battle, he was so elated with the advantage, and thought the event so fortunate, that he suffered himself to be saluted as *Imperator*; and the cities received him with sacrifices and every testimony of gratitude to

the gods at their altars. Nay, it is said, he received crowns of victory, that he made most magnificent entertainments on the occasion, and wore a triumphal robe. Victories, in effigy, descended in machines, with trophies of gold and garlands in their hands; and choirs of boys and virgins sung songs in his praise. These circumstances were extremely ridiculous, if he expressed so much joy and such superabundant vanity, while he called Sertorius a fugitive from Sylla, and the poor remains of Carbo's faction.

On the other hand, the magnanimity of Sertorius appeared in every step he took. The patricians, who had been obliged to fly from Rome, and take refuge with him, he called a senate. Out of them he appointed ~~quæstors~~ and lieutenants, and in every thing proceeded according to the laws of his country. What was of still ~~greater~~ moment, though he made war only with the arms, the money, and the men of Spain, he did not suffer the Spaniards to have the least share in any department of government, even in words or titles. He gave them Roman generals and governors; to make it appear that the liberty of Rome was his great object, and that he did not want to set up the Spaniards against the Romans. In fact, he was a true lover of his country, and his passion to be restored to it was one of the first in his heart. Yet, in his greatest misfortunes, he never departed from his dignity. On the other hand, when he was victorious, he would make an offer to Metellus or Pompey, to lay down his arms, on condition he might be permitted to return in the capacity of a private man. He said he had rather be the meanest citizen in Rome, than an exile with the command of all the other countries in the world.

This love of his country is said to have been in some measure owing to the attachment he had to his

mother. His father died in his infancy, and he had his education wholly from her; consequently his affections centered in her. His Spanish friends wanted to constitute him supreme governor; but having information at that time of the death of his mother, he gave himself up to the most alarming grief. For seven whole days he neither gave the word, nor would be seen by any of his friends. At last, his generals, and others who were upon a footing with him in point of rank, beset his tent, and insisted that he should rise from the ground and make his appearance, to speak to the soldiers, and to take the directions of their affairs, which were then as prosperous as he could desire. Hence many imagined, that he was naturally of a pacific turn, and a lover of tranquillity, but he was brought against his inclination, by some means or other, to take upon him the command; and that when he was hard pressed by his enemies, and had no other shelter but that of war to fly to, he had recourse to it merely in the way of self-defence.

We cannot have greater proofs of his magnanimity than those that appear in his treaty with Mithridates. That prince, recovering from the fall given him by Sylla, entered the lists again, and renewed his pretensions to Asia. By this time the fame of Sertorius had extended itself into all parts of the world. The merchants who traded to the west, carried back news of his achievements, like commodities from a distant country, and filled Pontus with his renown. Hereupon Mithridates determined to send an embassy to him; induced to it by the vain speeches of his flatterers, who compared Sertorius to Hannibal, and Mithridates to Pyrrhus, and insisted that the Romans would never be able to bear up against two such powers and two persons of such genius and abilities, when attacked by them in differ-

ent quarters; the one being the most excellent of generals, and the other the greatest of kings.

In pursuance of this scheme, Mithridates sent ambassadors into Spain, with letters to Sertorius, and proposals to be made in conference; the purport of which was, that the king would supply him with money and ships for the war, on condition that he confirmed his claim to Asia, which he had lately given up to the Romans in the treaty with Sylla.

Sertorius assembled his council, which he called *the Senate*. They were unanimous in their opinions that he should accept the conditions, and think himself happy in them; since they were only asked an empty name and title to things which it was not in their power to give, and the king in return would supply them with what they most wanted. But Sertorius would by no means agree to it. He said, he had no objection to that prince's having Bithynia and Cappadocia, countries accustomed to kingly government, and not belonging to the Romans by any just title; but as to a province to which the Romans had an undeniable claim; a province which they had been deprived of by Mithridates, which he afterwards lost to Fimbria, and at last had quitted upon the peace with Sylla, he could never consent that he should be put in possession of it again. "Rome," said he, "ought to have her power extended by my victories, and it is not my right to rise to power at her expense. A man who has any dignity of sentiment should conquer with honour, and not use any base means even to save his life."

Mithridates was perfectly astonished at this answer, and thus communicated his surprise to his friends: "What orders would Sertorius give us, when seated in the senate house at Rome, if now, driven as he is to the coasts of the Atlantic Ocean, he prescribes bounds to our empire, and threatens

us with war if we make any attempt upon Asia?" The treaty, however, went on, and was sworn to. Mithridates was to have Cappadocia and Bithynia, and Sertorius to supply him with a general and some troops; the king, on the other hand, was to furnish Sertorius with three thousand talents, and forty ships of war.

The general whom Sertorius sent into Asia, was a senator who had taken refuge with him, named Marcus Marius. When Mithridates, by his assistance, had taken some cities in Asia, he permitted that officer to enter them with his rods and axes, and voluntarily took the second place as one of his train. Marius declared some of those cities free, and excused others from imposts and taxes, telling them they were indebted for these favours to Sertorius. So that Asia, which laboured again under the exaction of the Roman tax-gatherers, and the oppressions and insults of the garrisons, had once more a prospect of some happier mode of government.

But in Spain, the senators about Sertorius, who looked upon themselves as on a footing with him, no sooner saw themselves as a match for the enemy than they bade adieu to fear, and gave into a foolish jealousy and envy of their general. At the head of these was Perpenna, who, elated with the vanity of birth, aspired to the command, and scrupled not to address his partisans in private with such speeches as these: "What evil dæmon possesses us, and leads us from bad to worse? We, who would not stay at home and submit to the orders of Sylla, who is master both of sea and land, what are we to come to? Did we not come here for liberty? Yet here we are voluntary slaves; guards to the exiled Sertorius. We suffer ourselves to be amused with the title of a senate; a title despised and ridiculed by all the

world. O noble senators, who submit to the most mortifying tasks and labours, as much as the meanest Spaniards and Lusitanians!"

Numbers were attacked with these and such like discourses; and though they did not openly revolt, because they dreaded the power of Sertorius, yet they took private methods to ruin his affairs, by treating the barbarians ill, inflicting heavy punishments, and collecting exorbitant subsidies, as if by his order. Hence the cities began to waver in their allegiance, and to raise disturbances; and the persons sent to compose those disturbances by mild and gentle methods, made more enemies than they reconciled, and inflamed the rising spirit of disobedience: insomuch that Sertorius, departing from his former clemency and moderation, behaved with great injustice and outrage to the children of the Spaniards in Osca, putting some to death, and selling others for slaves.

The conspiracy daily gathered strength, and among the rest Perpenna drew in Manlius*, who had a considerable command in the army.

He and his partisans then prepared letters for Sertorius, which imported that a victory was gained by one of his officers, and great numbers of the enemy slain. Sertorius offered sacrifice for the good tidings; and Perpenna gave him, and his own friends who were by, and who were all privy to the design, an invitation to supper, which, with much entreaty, he prevailed upon him to accept.

The entertainments at which Sertorius was present, had been always attended with great order and decorum; for he could not bear either to see or hear the least indecency, and he had ever accustomed the

* Dacier thinks we should read *Manius*, by which it means *Manius Antonius*, who gave Sertorius the first blow.

guests to divert themselves in an innocent and irreproachable manner. But in the midst of the entertainment, the conspirators began to seek occasion to quarrel, giving into the most dissolute discourse, and pretending drunkenness as the cause of their ribaldry. All this was done to provoke him. However, either vexed at their obscenities and design, or guessing at their designs by the manner of their drawing them out, he changed his posture, and threw himself back upon his couch, as though he neither heard nor regarded them. Then Perpenna took a cup of wine, and as he was drinking, purposely let it fall out of his hands. The noise it made being the signal for them to fall on, Antony, who sat next to Sertorius, gave him a stroke with his sword. Sertorius turned, and strove to get up; but Antony throwing himself upon his breast held both his hands; so that not being able in the least to defend himself, the rest of the conspirators despatched him with many wounds.

Upon the first news of his death, most of the Spaniards abandoned Perpenna, and by their deputies surrendered themselves to Pompey and Metellus. Perpenna attempted something with those that remained; but though he had the use of all that Sertorius had prepared, he made so ill a figure, that it was evident he knew no more how to command than how to obey. He gave Pompey battle, and was soon routed and taken prisoner. Nor in this last distress did he behave as became a general. He had the papers of Sertorius in his possession, and he offered Pompey the sight of original letters from men of consular dignity, and the greatest interest in Rome, by which they invited Sertorius into Italy in consequence of the desire of numbers, who wanted a change in the present state of affairs, and a new administration.

Pompey, however, behaved not like a young man, but with all the marks of a solid and improved understanding, and by his prudence delivered Rome from a train of dreadful fears and new commotions. He collected all those letters, and the other papers of Sertorius, and burned them, without either reading them himself, or suffering any other person to do it. As for Perpenna, he put him to death immediately, lest he should mention the names of those who wrote the letters, and thence new seditions and troubles should arise. Perpenna's accomplices met the same fate; some of them being brought to Pompey, and by him ordered to the block, and others, who fled into Africa, shot by the Moors. None escaped but Aufidius, the rival of Manlius. Whether it was that he could not be found, or they thought him not worth the seeking, he lived to old age in a village of the barbarians, wretchedly poor, and universally despised.

EUMENES.

Diogenes the historian writes, that Eumenes the Carian was the son of a poor waggoner in the Chersonesus; and yet that he had a liberal education both as to learning and the exercises then in vogue*. He says that while he was but a lad, Philip happening to be in Cardia, went to spend an hour of leisure in seeing how the young men acquitted themselves in

* There were public schools, where children of all conditions were taught without distinction.

the *pancratîon**, and the boys in wrestling. Among these Eumenes succeeded so well, and showed so much activity and address, that Philip was pleased with him, and took him into his train. But others assert, with a greater appearance of probability, that Philip preferred him on account of the ties of friendship and hospitality there were between him and the father of Eumenes.

After the death of Philip, he maintained the reputation of being equal to any of Alexander's officers in capacity, and in the honour with which he discharged his commissions; and though he had only the title of principal secretary, he was looked upon in as honourable a light as the king's most intimate friends and counsellors; insomuch that he had the sole direction of an Indian expedition, and upon the death of Hephæstion, when Perdiccas had the post of that favourite, he succeeded Perdiccas. Therefore, when Neoptolemus, who had been the principal armour-bearer, took upon him to say, after the death of Alexander, "that he had borne the shield and spear of that monarch, and that Eumenes had only followed with his *escritoir*," the Macedonians only laughed at his vanity; knowing that, besides other marks of honour, Alexander had thought Eumenes not unworthy his alliance. For Barsine, the daughter of Artabazus, who was the first lady Alexander took to his bed in Asia, and who brought him a son named Hercules, had two sisters; one of whom, called Apama, he gave to Ptolemy; and the other, called also Barsine, he gave to Eumenes, at the time when he was selecting Persian ladies as wives for his friends.

* The *pancratîon* (as we have already observed) was a competition of wrestling and boxing.

† Alexander had married Siatira, the eldest daughter of Darius, and given the youngest the name Trypetha, to Hephæ-

Yet it must be acknowledged, he was often in disgrace with Alexander, and once or twice in danger too, on account of Hephæstion. In the first place, Hephæstion gave a musician named Eyijs, the quarters which the servants of Eumenes had taken up for him. Upon this, Eumenes went in great wrath to Alexander, with Mentor*, and cried, "The best method they could take, was to throw away their arms, and learn to play upon the flute, or turn tragedians." Alexander at first entered into his quarrel, and sharply rebuked Hephæstion: But he soon changed his mind, and turned the weight of his displeasure upon Eumenes; thinking he had behaved with more disrespect to him than resentment against Hephæstion.

Again; when Alexander wanted to send out Nearchus with a fleet to explore the coasts of the ocean, he found his treasury low, and asked his friends for a supply. Among the rest, he applied to Eumenes for three hundred talents, who offered him only a hundred, and assured him, at the same time, he should find it difficult to collect that sum by his stewards. Alexander refused the offer, but did not remonstrate or complain. However, he ordered his servants privately to set fire to Eumenes's tent, that he might be forced to carry out his money, and be openly convicted of the falsity. It happened that the tent was entirely consumed, and Alexander was

tion. This was a measure well calculated for establishing him and his posterity on the Persian throne; but it was odious to the Macedonians. Therefore, to support it on one hand, and to obviate inconveniences on the other, he selected eighty virgins out of the most honourable families in Persia, and persuaded his principal friends and officers to marry them.

* Mentor was brother to Memnon, whose widow Barine was Alexander's mistress. He was also brother-in-law to Artabazus; and the second Barine, whom Eumenes married, seems to have been daughter to Memnon and Mentor's sister.

sorry on account of the loss of his papers. There was gold and silver found melted, to the amount of more than a thousand talents, yet even then the king took none of it. And having written to all his grantees and lieutenants to send him copies of the despatches that were lost, upon their arrival he put them again under the care of Eumenes.

Some time after, another dispute happened between him and Hephæstion, on account of some present from the king to one of them. Much severe and abusive language passed between them, yet Alexander, for the present, did not look upon Eumenes with the less regard. But, Hephæstion dying soon after, the king, in his unspeakable affliction for that loss, expressed his resentment against all who he thought envied that favourite while he lived, or rejoiced at his death. Eumenes was one of those whom he most suspected of such sentiments, and he often mentioned the differences, and the severe language those differences had produced. Eumenes, however, being an artful man, and happy at expedients, made the very person through whom he had lost the king's favour, the means of regaining it. He seconded the zeal and application of Alexander to celebrate the memory of Hephæstion. He suggested such instances of veneration as he thought might do most honour to the deceased, and contributed largely and freely, out of his own purse, towards the expenses of his funeral.

Upon the death of Alexander, a great quarrel broke out between the phalanx and the late king's friends and generals. Eumenes, in his heart, sided with the phalanx, but in appearance stood neuter, as a person perfectly indifferent; saying, it did not become him, who was a stranger, to interfere in the disputes of the Macedonians. And when the other

great officers retired from Babylon, he stayed there, endeavouring to appease that body of infantry, and to dispose them to a reconciliation.

After these troubles were passed, and the generals met to consult about dividing the provinces and armies among them, the countries assigned Eumenes were Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, and the coast of the sea of Pontus as far as Trapezus. These countries were not then subject to the Macedonians, for Ariarathes was king of them; but Leonatus and Antigonus were to go with a great army, and put Eumenes in possession. Antigonus, now elated with power, and despising all the world, gave no attention to the letters of Perdiccas. But Leonatus marched down from the upper provinces into Phrygia, and promised to undertake the expedition for Eumenes. Immediately after this, Hecateus, a petty tyrant in Cardia, applied to Leonatus, and desired him rather to go to the relief of Antipater and the Macedonians, who were besieged in Lamia*. Leonatus, being inclined to go, called Eumenes, and attempted to reconcile him to Hecateus. They had long had suspicions of each other on account of a family difference in point of politics; in consequence of which Eumenes had once accused Hecateus of setting himself up tyrant in Cardia, and had entreated Alexander to restore that people to their liberty. He now desired to be excused taking a share in the Grecian expedition, alleging he was afraid Antipater, who had long hated him, to gratify himself as well as Hecateus, would make some attempt upon his life. Upon which, Leonatus, placing an entire confidence in him, opened to him all his heart. He told him the assisting Antipater was nothing but a pretext, and that he designed, as soon as he landed

* A city of Thessaly.

in Greece, to assert his claim to Macedonia. At the same time he showed him letters from Cleopatra*, in which she invited him to Pella, and promised to give him her hand.

Whether Eumenes was really afraid of Antipater, or whether he despaired of any service from Leonatus, who was extremely obstinate in his temper, and followed every impulse of a precipitate ambition, he withdrew from him in the night with all his equipage, which consisted of three hundred horse, two hundred of his domestics well armed, and all his treasure, amounting to five thousand talents. With this he fled to Perdiccas; and as he acquainted that general with the secret designs of Leonatus, he was immediately taken into a high degree of favour, and admitted to a share in his councils. In a little time, too, Perdiccas in person conducted him into Cappadocia, with a great army; took Ariarathes prisoner, subdued all the country, and established Eumenes in that government: in consequence of which Eumenes put the cities under the direction of his friends, placed guards and garrisons with proper officers at their head, and appointed judges and superintendants of the revenue; Perdiccas leaving the entire disposition of those things to him. After this, he departed with Perdiccas; choosing to give him that testimony of respect, and not thinking it consistent with his interest to be absent from his court. But Perdiccas, satisfied that he could himself execute the designs he was meditating, and perceiving that the provinces he had left behind required an able and faithful guardian, sent back Eumenes when he had reached Cilicia. The pretence was, that he might attend to the concerns of his own government; but the real intention, that he should secure

* The sister of Alexander.

the adjoining province of Armenia, which was disturbed by the practices of Neoptolemus.

Neoptolemus was a man of sanguine pursuits, and unbounded vanity. Eumenes, however, endeavoured to keep him to his duty, by soothing applications. And as he saw the Macedonian infantry were become extremely insolent and audacious, he applied himself to raising a body of cavalry, which might be a counterpoise against them. For this purpose he remitted the taxes, and gave other immunities to those of his province who were good horsemen. He also bought a great number of horses, and distributed them among such of his courtiers as he placed the greatest confidence in; exciting them by honours and rewards, and training them to strength and skill by a variety of exercises. The Macedonians upon this were differently affected, some with astonishment, and others with joy, to see a body of cavalry collected, to the number of six thousand three hundred, and trained in so short a space of time.

About that time, Craterus and Antipater, having reduced Greece, passed into Asia, to overthrow the power of Perdiccas; and news was brought that their first intention was to enter Cappadocia. Perdiccas himself was engaged in war with Ptolemy: he therefore appointed Eumenes commander in chief of the forces in Armenia and Cappadocia; and wrote to Alcetas and Neoptolemus to obey the orders of that general, whom he had invested with discretionary powers. Alcetas plainly refused to submit to that injunction; alleging, that the Macedonians would be ashamed to fight Antipater; and as for Craterus, their affection for him was such that they would receive him with open arms. On the other hand, it was visible that Neoptolemus was forming some treacherous scheme against Eumenes;

for, when called upon, he refused to join him, and, instead of that, prepared to give him battle.

This was the first occasion on which Eumenes reaped the fruits of his foresight and timely preparations. For, though his infantry were beaten, with his cavalry he put Neoptolemus to flight, and took his baggage. And while the phalanx were dispersed upon the pursuit, he fell upon them in such good order with his horse, that they were forced to lay down their arms, and take an oath to serve him. Neoptolemus collected some of the fugitives, and retired with them to Craterus and Antipater. They had already sent ambassadors to Eumenes, to desire him to adopt their interests, in reward of which they would confirm to him the provinces he had, and give him others, with an additional number of troops: in which case he would find Antipater a friend instead of an enemy, and continue in friendship with Craterus instead of turning his arms against him.

Eumenes made answer to these proposals, "That having long been on a footing of enmity with Antipater, he did not choose to be his friend, at a time when he saw him treating his friends as so many enemies. As for Craterus, he was ready to reconcile him to Perdiccas, and to compromise matters between them upon just and reasonable terms. - But if he should begin hostilities, he should support his injured friend while he had an hour to live, and rather sacrifice life itself than his honour."

When this answer was reported to Antipater and Craterus, they took some time to deliberate upon the measures they should pursue. Meanwhile Neoptolemus arriving, gave them an account of the battle he had lost, and requested assistance of them both, but particularly of Craterus. He said, "The Macedonians had so extraordinary an attachment to him, that if they saw but his hat, or heard one ac-

cent of his tongue, they would immediately run to him with their swords in their hands." Indeed, the reputation of Craterus was very great among them, and, after the death of Alexander, most of them wished to be under his command. They remembered the risks he had run of embroiling himself with Alexander for their sakes; how he had combated the inclinations for Persian fashions which insensibly grew upon him, and supported the customs of his country against the insults of barbaric pomp and luxury.

Craterus now sent Antipater into Cilicia, and taking a considerable part of the forces himself, marched along with Neoptolemus against Eumenes. If Eumenes foresaw his coming, and was prepared for it, we may impute it to the vigilance necessary in a general; we see nothing in that of superior genius. But when, besides his concealing from the enemy what they ought not to discover, he brought his own troops to action, without knowing who was their adversary, and made them serve against Craterus, without finding out that he was the officer they had to contend with; in this we see characteristic proofs of generalship. For he propagated a report, that Neoptolemus, assisted by Pigris, was advancing again with some Cappadocian and Paphlagonian horse. The night he designed to decamp, he fell into a sound sleep, and had a very extraordinary dream. He thought he saw two Alexanders prepared to try their strength against each other, and each at the head of a phalanx. Minerva came to support the one and Ceres the other. A sharp conflict ensued, in which the Alexander assisted by Minerva was defeated, and Ceres crowned the victor with a wreath of corn. He immediately concluded that the dream was in his favour, because he had to fight for a country which was most of it in

tillage, and which had then so excellent a crop, well advanced towards the sickle, that the whole face of it had the appearance of a profound peace. He was the more confirmed in his opinion, when he found the enemy's word was *Minerva and Alexander*; and in opposition to it he gave *Ceres and Alexander*. At the same time, he ordered his men to crown themselves, and to cover their arms with ears of corn. He was several times upon the point of declaring to his principal officers and captains what adversary they had to contend with; thinking it a hazardous undertaking to keep to himself a secret so important, and perhaps necessary for them to know.—Yet he abode by his first resolution, and trusted his own heart only with the danger that might ensue.

When he came to give battle, he would not set any Macedonian to engage Craterus, but appointed to that charge two bodies of foreign horse, commanded by Pharnabazus the son of Artabazus, and Phoenix of Tenedos. They had orders to advance on the first sight of the enemy, and come to close fighting, without giving them time to retire; and if they attempted to speak or send any herald, they were not to regard it. For he had strong apprehensions that the Macedonians would go over to Craterus, if they happened to know him. Eumenes himself, with a troop of three hundred select horse, went and posted himself in the right wing, where he should have to act against Neoptolemus. When they had passed a little hill that separated the two armies, and came in view, they charged with such impetuosity that Craterus was extremely surprised, and expressed his resentment in strong terms against Neoptolemus, who, he thought, had deceived him with a pretence that the Macedonians would change sides. However, he exhorted his officers to behave like brave men, and stood forward to the encounter. In

the first shock, which was very violent, the spears were soon broke, and they were then to decide the dispute with the sword.

The behaviour of Craterus did no dishonour to Alexander. He killed numbers with his own hand, and overthrew many others who assailed him in front. But at last he received a side blow from a Thracian, which brought him to the ground. Many passed over him without knowing him; but Gorgias, one of Eumenes's officers, took notice of him; and being well acquainted with his person, leaped from his horse and guarded the body. It was then, however, too late; he was at the last extremity, and in the agonies of death.

In the meantime, Neoptolemus engaged Eumenes.—The most violent hatred had long subsisted between them, and this day added stings to it. They knew not one another in the two first encounters, but in the third they did; and then they rushed forward impetuously with swords drawn and loud shouts. The shock their horses met with was so violent, that it resembled that of two galleys. The fierce antagonists quitted the bridles, and laid hold on each other; each endeavouring to tear off the helmet or the breast-plate of his enemy. While their hands were thus engaged, their horses went from under them; and as they fell to the ground without quitting their hold, they wrestled for the advantage. Neoptolemus was beginning to rise first, when Eumenes wounded him in the ham, and by that means got upon his feet before him. Neoptolemus, being wounded in one knee, supported himself upon the other, and fought with great courage underneath, but was not able to reach his adversary a mortal blow. At last, receiving a wound in the neck, he grew faint, and stretched himself upon the ground. Eumenes, with all the eagerness of inve-

terate hatred, hastened to strip him of his arms, and loading him with reproaches, did not observe that his sword was still in his hand; so that Neoptolemus wounded him under the cuirass, where it touches upon the groin. However, as the stroke was but feeble, the apprehensions it gave him were greater than the real hurt.

When he had despoiled his adversary, weak as he was with the wounds he had received in his legs and arms, he mounted his horse and made up to his left wing, which he supposed might still be engaged with the enemy. There, being informed of the fate of Craterus, he hastened to him; and finding his breath and senses not quite gone, he alighted from his horse, wept over him, and gave him his hand. One while he vented his execrations upon Neoptolemus, and another while he lamented his own fortune, and the cruel necessity he was under of coming to extremities with his most intimate friend, and either giving or receiving the fatal blow.

Eumenes won this battle about ten days after the former. And it raised him to a high rank of honour, because it brought him the palm both of capacity and courage, but at the same time it exposed him to the envy and hatred both of his allies and his enemies. It seemed hard to them, that a stranger, a foreign adventurer, should have destroyed one of the greatest and most illustrious of the Macedonians with the arms of those very Macedonians. Had the news of the death of Craterus been brought sooner to Perdiccas, none but he would have swayed the Macedonian sceptre. But he was slain in a mutiny in Egypt, two days before the news arrived. The Macedonians were so much exasperated against Eumenes upon the late event that they immediately decreed his death. Antigonus and Antipater were to take the direction of the war which was to carry

that decree into execution. Meantime Eumenes went to the king's horses which were pasturing upon mount ~~Ida~~ and took such as he had occasion for, but gave the keepers a discharge for them. When Antipater was apprised of it, he laughed, and said, "He could not enough admire the caution of Eumenes, who must certainly expect to see the account of the king's goods and chattels stated either on one side or other."

Eumenes intended to give battle upon the plains of Lydia near Sardis, both because he was strong in cavalry, and because he was ambitious to show Cleopatra what a respectable force he had. However, at the request of that princess, who was afraid to give Antipater any cause of complaint, he marched to the Upper Phrygia, and wintered in Celeus. There Alcetas, Polemon, and Docimus, contended with him for the command; upon which he said, "This makes good the observation, Every one thinks of advancing himself, but no one thinks of the danger that may accrue to the public weal."

He had promised to pay his army within three days, and as he had not money to do it, he sold them all the farms and castles in the country, together with the people and cattle that were upon them. Every captain of a Macedonian company, or officer who had a command in the foreign troops, received battering engines from Eumenes; and when he had taken the castle, he divided the spoil among his company, according to the arrears due to each particular man. This restored him the affections of the soldiers; insomuch, that when papers were found in his camp, dispersed by the enemy, in which their generals proposed a hundred talents and great honours to the man who should kill Eumenes, the Macedonians were highly incensed, and gave order that from that time he should have a body guard of

a thousand officer-men always about him, who should keep watch by turns, and be in waiting day and night. There was not a man who refused that charge; and they were glad to receive from Eumenes the marks of honour which those who were called the king's friends used to receive from the hands of royalty. For he too was empowered to distribute purple hats and rich robes, which were considered as the principal gifts the kings of Macedon had to bestow.

Prosperity gives some appearance of higher sentiments even to persons of mean spirit, and we see something of grandeur and importance about them in the elevation where Fortune has placed them. But he who is inspired by real fortitude and magnanimity, will show it most by the dignity of his behaviour under losses, and in the most adverse fortune. So did Eumenes. When he had lost a battle to Antigonus in the territory of the Orcynians in Cappadocia, through the treachery of one of his officers, though he was forced to fly himself, he did not suffer the traitor to escape to the enemy, but took him and hanged him upon the spot. In his flight he took a different way from the pursuers, and privately turned round in such a manner, as to regain the field of battle. There he encamped, in order to bury the dead; whom he collected, and burned with the door posts of the neighbouring villages. The bodies of the officers and common soldiers were burned upon separate piles; and when he had raised great monuments of earth over them, he decamped. So that Antigonus coming that way afterwards, was astonished at his firmness and intrepidity.

Another time he fell in with the baggage of Antigonus, and could easily have taken it, together with many persons of free condition, a great number of slaves, and all the wealth which had been

amassed in so many wars, and the plunder of so many countries. But he was afraid that his men, when possessed of such riches and spoils, would think themselves too heavy for flight, and be too effeminate to bear the hardships of long wandering from place to place; and yet time, he knew, was his principal resource for getting clear of Antigonus. On the other hand, he was sensible it would be extremely difficult to keep the Macedonians from flying upon the spoil, when it was so much within reach. He therefore ordered them to refresh themselves, and feed their horses, before they attacked the enemy. In the mean time he privately sent a messenger to Menander, who escorted the baggage, to acquaint him, "That Eumenes, in consideration of the friendship which had subsisted between them, advised him to provide for his safety, and to retire as fast as possible from the plain, where he might easily be surrounded, to the foot of the neighbouring mountain, where the cavalry could not act, nor any troops fall upon his rear."

Menander soon perceived his danger, and retired. After which, Eumenes sent out his scouts in the presence of all the soldiers, and commanded the latter to arm and bridle their horses, in order for the attack. The scouts brought back an account that Menander had gained a situation where he could not be taken. Hereupon Eumenes pretended great concern, and drew off his forces. We are told, that upon the report Menander made of this affair to Antigonus, the Macedonians launched out in the praises of Eumenes, and began to regard him with an eye of kindness, for acting so generous a part, when it was in his power to have enslaved their children and dishonoured their wives. The answer Antigonus gave them was this: "Think not, my good friends, it was for your sakes he let them go; it was

for his own. He did not choose to have so many shackles upon him, when he designed to fly."

After this, Eumenes being forced to wander and fly from place to place, spoke to many of his soldiers to leave him; either out of care for their safety, or because he did not choose to have a body of men after him, who were too few to stand a battle, and too many to fly in privacy. And when he retired to the castle of Nora*, on the confines of Lycaonia and Cappadocia with only five hundred horse and two hundred foot, there again he gave all such of his friends free leave to depart as did not like the inconveniences of the place and the meanness of diet†, and dismissed them with great marks of kindness.

In a little time Antigonus came up, and, before he formed that siege, invited him to a conference. Eumenes answered, Antigonus had many friends and generals "to take his place, in case of accidents to himself; but the troops he had the care of had none to command or to protect them after him." He therefore insisted that Antigonus should send hostages, if he wanted to treat with him in person. And when Antigonus wanted him to make his application to him first, as the greater man, he said, "While I am master of my sword, I shall never think any man greater than myself." At last Antigonus sent his nephew Ptolemy into the fort as a hostage, and then Eumenes came out to him. They embraced with great tokens of cordiality, having formerly been intimate friends and companions.

In the conference, which lasted a considerable time, Eumenes made no mention of security for his own life, or of an amnesty for what was passed. Instead of that, he insisted on having the government

* It was only two hundred and fifty paces in circumference.

† A hundred left him upon this offer.

of his provinces confirmed to him, and considerable rewards for his services besides ; insomuch that all who attended on this occasion, admired his firmness, and were astonished at his greatness of mind.

During the interview, numbers of the Macedonians ran to see Eumenes ; for, after the death of Craterus, no man was so much talked of in the army as he. But Antigonus, fearing they should offer him some violence, called to them to keep at a distance ; and when they still kept crowding in, ordered them to be driven off with stones. At last he took him in his arms, and keeping off the multitude with his guards, with some difficulty got him safe again into the castle.

As the treaty ended in nothing, Antigonus drew a line of circumvallation round the place, and having left a sufficient number of troops to carry on the siege, he retired. The fort was abundantly provided with corn, water, and salt, but in want of every thing else requisite for the table. Yet with this mean provision he furnished out a cheerful entertainment for his friends, whom he invited in their turns ; for he took care to season his provisions with agreeable discourse and the utmost cordiality. His appearance was, indeed, very engaging. His countenance had nothing of a ferocious or war-worn turn, but was smooth and elegant ; and the proportion of his limbs was so excellent that they might seem to have come from the chisel of the statuary. And though he was not very eloquent, he had a soft and persuasive way of speaking, as we may conclude from his epistles.

He observed, that the greatest inconvenience to the garrison was the narrowness of the space in which they were confined, enclosed as it was with small houses, and the whole of it not more than two furlongs in circuit ; so that they were forced to take

their food without exercise, and their horses to do the same. To remove the languor which is the consequence of that want, as well as to prepare them for flight, if occasion should offer, he assigned a room fourteen cubits long, the largest in all the fort, for the men to walk in, and gave them orders gradually to mend their pace. As for the horses, he tied them to the roof of the stable with strong halters. Then he raised their heads and fore parts by a pulley, till they could scarce touch the ground with their fore feet, but, at the same time, they stood firm upon their hind-feet. In this posture the grooms plied them with the whip and the voice; and the horses, thus irritated, bounded furiously on their hind-feet, or strained to set their fore-feet on the ground; by which efforts their whole body was exercised, till they were out of breath and in a foam. After this exercise, which was no bad one either for speed or strength, they had their barley given them boiled, that they might sooner despatch, and better digest it.

As the siege was drawn out to a considerable length, Antigonus received information of the death of Antipater in Macedonia, and of the troubles that prevailed there through the animosities between Cassander and Polyperchon. He now bade adieu to all inferior prospects, and grasped the whole empire in his schemes: in consequence of which he wanted to make Eumenes his friend, and bring him to cooperate in the execution of his plan. For this purpose he sent to him Hieronymus*, with proposals of peace, on condition he took the oath that was offered to him. Eumenes made a correction in

* Hieronymus was of Cardia, and therefore a countryman of Eumenes. He wrote the history of those princes who divided Alexander's dominions among them, and of their successors.

the oath, and left it to the Macedonians before the place to judge which form was the most reasonable. Indeed, Antigonus, to save appearances, had slightly mentioned the royal family in the beginning, and all the rest ran in his own name. Eumenes, therefore, put Olympias and the princess of the blood first: and he proposed to engage himself by oath of fealty not to Antigonus only, but to Olympias, and the princes her children. This appearing to the Macedonians much more consistent with justice than the other, they permitted Eumenes to take it, and then raised the siege. They likewise sent this oath to Antigonus, requiring him to take it on the other part.

Meantime Eumenes restored to the Cappadocians all the hostages he had in Nora, and in return they furnished him with horses, beasts of burden, and tents. He also collected great part of his soldiers who had dispersed themselves after his defeat, and were straggling about the country. By this means he assembled near a thousand horse*, with which he marched off as fast as possible; rightly judging he had much to fear from Antigonus. For that general not only ordered him to be besieged again, and shut up with a circular wall, but, in his letters, expressed great resentment against the Macedonians for admitting the correction of the oath.

While Eumenes was flying from place to place, he received letters from Macedonia, in which the people declared their apprehensions of the growing power of Antigonus; and others from Olympias, wherein she invited him to come and take upon him the tuition and care of Alexander's son, whose life she conceived to be in danger. At the same time, Polyperchon and king Philip sent him orders to carry on the war against Antigonus with the forces.

* Diodorus Siculus says two thousand.

in Cappadocia. They empowered him also take five hundred talents out of the royal treasure at Quinda*, for the reestablishment of his own affairs, and as much more as he should judge necessary for the purposes of the war. Antigenes and Teutamus too, who commanded the *Argyraspides*, had directions to support him.

These officers, in appearance, gave Eumenes a kind reception, but it was not difficult to discover the envy and jealousy they had in their hearts, and how much they disdained to act under him. Their envy he endeavoured to remove, by not taking the money, which he told them he did not want. To remove their obstinacy and ambition for the first place, was not so easy an affair; for, though they knew not how to command, they were resolved not to obey. In this case he called in the assistance of superstition. He said, Alexander had appeared to him in a dream, and showed him a pavilion with royal furniture, and a throne in the middle of it, after which that prince declared, "If they would hold their councils, and despatch business there, he would be with them, and prosper every measure and action which commenced under his auspices†".

He easily persuaded Antigenes and Teutamus to believe he had this vision. They were not willing to wait upon him, nor did he choose to dishonour his commission by going to them. They prepared, therefore, a royal pavilion, and a throne in it, which

* In Caria.

† In consequence of this, according to Diodorus, Eumenes proposed to take a sum out of the treasury, sufficient for making a throne of gold; to place upon that throne the diadem, the sceptre, and crown, and all the other ensigns of royalty belonging to that prince; that every morning a sacrifice should be offered him by all the officers; and that all orders should be issued in his name. A stroke of policy suitable to the genius of Eumenes.

they called the throne of Alexander ; and thither they repaired to consult upon the most important affairs.

From thence they marched to the higher provinces, and, upon the way, were joined by Peucestas, a friend of Eumenes, and other governors of provinces. Thus the Macedonians were greatly strengthened, both in point of numbers, and in the most magnificent provision of all the requisites of war. But power and affluence had rendered these governors so intractable in society, and so dissolute in their way of living, since the death of Alexander, and they came together with a spirit of despotism so nursed by barbaric pride, that they soon became obnoxious to each other, and no sort of harmony could subsist between them. Besides, they flattered the Macedonians without any regard to decorum, and supplied them with money in such a manner, for their entertainments and sacrifices, that, in a little time, their camp looked like a place of public reception for every scene of intemperance ; and those veterans were to be courted for military appointments, as the people are for their votes in a republic.

Eumenes soon perceived that the new arrived grandees despised each other, but were afraid of him, and watched an opportunity to kill him. He therefore pretended he was in want of money, and borrowed large sums of those that hated him most *, in order that they might place some confidence in him, or at least might give up their designs upon his life, out of regard to the money lent him. Thus he found guards for himself, in the opulence of others ; and, though men in general seek to save their lives by giving, he provided for his safety by receiving.

While no danger was near, the Macedonians took

* Four hundred thousand crowns.

bribes of all who wanted to corrupt them, and, like a kind of guards, daily attended the gates of those that affected the command. But, when Antigonus came and encamped over against them, and affairs called for a real general, Eumenes was applied to, not only by the soldiers, but the very grandees who had taken so much state upon them in time of peace and pleasure, freely gave place to him, and took the post assigned them without murmuring. Indeed, when Antigonus attempted to pass the river Pasitigris, not one of the other officers who were appointed to guard it, got any intelligence of his motions : Eumenes alone was at hand to oppose him ; and he did it so effectually, that he filled the channel with dead bodies, and made four thousand prisoners.

The behaviour of the Macedonians, when Eumenes happened to be sick, still more particularly showed, that they thought others fit to direct in magnificent entertainments, and the solemnities of peace, but that he was the only person among them fit to lead an army. For Peucestas having feasted them in a sumptuous manner in Persia, and given each man a sheep for sacrifice, hoped to be indulged with the command. A few days after, as they were marching against the enemy, Eumenes was so dangerously ill, that he was forced to be carried in a litter, at some distance from the ranks, lest his rest, which was very precarious, should be disturbed with the noise. They had not gone far, before the enemy suddenly made their appearance, for they had passed the intermediate hill, and were now descending into the plain. The lustre of their golden armour glittering in the sun, as they marched down the hill, the elephants with the towers on their backs, and the purple vests which the cavalry used to wear when they were advancing to the combat, struck the troops that were to oppose them with such surprise that

the front halted, and called out for Eumenes ; declaring that they would not move a step farther, if he had not the direction of them. At the same time they grounded their arms, exhorting each other to stop, and insisted that their officers should not hazard an engagement without Eumenes.

Eumenes no sooner heard this, than he advanced with the utmost expedition, hastening the slaves that carried the litter. He likewise opened the curtains, and stretched out his hand, in token of his joy. On the first sight of the general of their heart, the troops saluted him in the Macedonian language, clanked their arms, and, with loud shouts, challenged the enemy to advance, thinking themselves invincible while he was at their head.

Antigonus having learned from some prisoners, that Eumenes was so extremely ill that he was forced to be carried in a litter, concluded he should find no great difficulty in beating the other generals ; and, therefore, hastened to the attack. But when he came to reconnoitre the enemy's army, and saw in what excellent order it was drawn up, he stood still some time, in silent admiration. At last, spying the litter carried about from one wing to the other, he laughed out aloud, as his manner was, and said to his friends, " Yon litter is the thing that pitches the battle against us." After this he immediately retreated to his entrenchments*.

* There are some particulars in Diodorus which deserve to be inserted here. After the two armies were separated, without coming to action, they encamped about three furlongs distance from each other ; and Antigonus, soon finding the country where he lay so much exhausted that it would be very difficult for him to subsist, sent deputies to the confederate army, to solicit them, especially the governors of provinces, and the old Macedonian corps, to desert Eumenes, and to join him ; which, at this time, they rejected with the highest indignation. After the deputies were dismissed, Eumenes came

The Macedonians had hardly recovered themselves from their fears, before they began to behave again in a disorderly and mutinous manner to their officers, and spread themselves over almost all the provinces of Gabene for winter quarters ; insomuch that the first were at the distance of a thousand furlongs from the last. Antigonus, being informed of this circumstance, moved back against them, with-

into the assembly, and delivered himself in the following fable. " A lion once falling in love with a young damsel, demanded her in marriage of her father. The father made answer, that he looked on such an alliance as a great honour to his family, but stood in fear of his claws and teeth, lest, upon any trifling dispute, that might happen between them after marriage, he might exercise them a little too hastily upon his daughter. To remove this objection, the amorous lion caused both his nails and teeth to be drawn immediately ; whereupon, the father took a cudgel, and soon got rid of his enemy. This," continued he, " is the very thing aimed at by Antigonus, who is liberal in promises, till he has made himself master of your forces, and then beware of his teeth and paws." A few days after this, Eumenes having intelligence that Antigonus intended to decamp in the night, presently guessed that his design was to seek quarters of refreshment for his army in the rich district of Gabene. To prevent this, and at the same time to gain a passage into that country, he instructed some soldiers to pretend they were deserters, and sent them into the camp of Antigonus, where they reported that Eumenes intended to attack him in his trenches that very night. But, while Antigonus's troops were under arms, Eumenes marched for Gabene, which, at length, Antigonus suspected ; and having given proper orders to his foot, marched immediately after him with his cavalry. Early in the morning, from the top of a hill, he discerned Eumenes, with his army below ; and Eumenes, upon sight of the cavalry, concluding that the whole army of Antigonus was at hand, faced about, and disposed his troops in order to battle. Thus Eumenes was deceived in his turn ; and as soon as Antigonus's infantry came up, a sharp action followed, in which the victory seemed won and lost several times. At last however, Antigonus had visibly the worst, being forced to withdraw, by long marches, into Media. *Dion. Sic. lib. xviii.*

out losing a moment's time. He took a rugged road, that afforded no water, because it was the shortest; hoping, if he fell upon them while thus dispersed, that it would be impossible for their officers to assemble them.

However, as soon as he had entered that desolate country, his troops were attacked with such violent winds, and severe frosts, that it was difficult for them to proceed; and they found it necessary to light many fires. For this reason their march could not be concealed. The barbarians, who inhabited the mountains that overlooked the desert, wondering what such a number of fires could mean, sent some persons upon dromedaries to Peucestas, with an account of them.

Peucestas, distracted with terror at this news, prepared for flight, intending to take with him such troops as he could collect on the way. But Eumenes soon dispelled their fears and uneasiness, by promising so to impede the enemy's march, that they would arrive three days later than they were expected. Finding that they listened to him, he sent orders to the officers to draw all the troops from the quarters, and assemble them with speed. At the same time he took his horse, and went with his colleagues to seek out a lofty piece of ground, which might attract the attention of the troops marching below. Having found one that answered his purpose, he measured it, and caused a number of fires to be lighted at proper intervals, so as to resemble a camp.

When Antigonus beheld those fires upon the heights, he was in the utmost distress. For he thought the enemy were apprised of his intention some time before, and were come to meet him. Not choosing, therefore, with forces so harassed and fatigued with their march, to be obliged to fight troops

that were perfectly fresh, and had wintered in agreeable quarters, he left the short road, and led his men through the towns and villages; giving them abundant time to refresh themselves. But when he found that no parties came out to gall him in his march, which is usual when an enemy is near, and was informed, by the neighbouring inhabitants, that they had seen no troops whatever, nor any thing but fires upon the hills, he perceived that Eumenes had outdone him in point of generalship; and this incensed him so much that he advanced with a resolution to try his strength in a pitched battle.

Meantime the greatest part of the forces repairing to Eumenes, in admiration of his capacity, desired him to take the sole command. Upon this Antigenes and Teutamus, who were at the head of the *Argyraspides*, were so exasperated with envy, that they formed a plot against his life; and having drawn into it most of the grandees and generals, they consulted upon a proper time and method to take him off. They all agreed to make use of him in the ensuing battle, and to assassinate him immediately after. But Eudamus, master of the elephants, and Phædimus, privately informed Eumenes of their resolutions; not out of any kindness or benevolent regard, but because they were afraid of losing the money they had lent him. He commended them for the honour with which they behaved, and retired to his tent. There he told his friends, "That he lived among a herd of savage beasts," and immediately made his will. After which he destroyed all his papers, lest after his death, charges and impeachments should arise against the persons who wrote them, in consequence of the secrets discovered there. He then considered, whether he should put the enemy in the way of gaining the victory, or take his flight through Media and Armenia into Cappadocia;

but he could not fix upon any thing while his friends stayed with him. After revolving various expedients in his mind, which was now almost as changeable as his fortune, he drew up the force, and endeavoured to animate the Greeks and the barbarians. On the other hand, the *Phlanx* and the *Argyraspides* bade him be of good courage, assuring him, that the enemy would not stand the encounter. For they were veterans who had served under Philip and Alexander, and like so many champions of the ring, had never had a fall to that day. Many of them were seventy years of age, and none less than sixty. So that when they charged the troops of Antigonos, they cried out, " Villians, you fight against your fathers !" Then they fell furiously upon his infantry, and soon routed them. Indeed, none of the battalions could stand the shock, and the most of them were cut in pieces upon the spot. But though Antigonos had such bad success in this quarter, his cavalry were victorious, through the weak and dastardly behaviour of Peucestas, and took all the baggage. Antigonos was a man who had an excellent presence of mind on the most trying occasions, and here the place and the occasion befriended him. It was a plain open country, the soil neither deep nor hard, but, like the seashore, covered with a fine dry sand, which the trampling of so many men and horses, during the action, reduced to a small white dust, that, like a cloud of lime, darkened the air, and intercepted the prospect ; so that it was easy for Antigonos to take the baggage unperceived.

After the battle was over, Tentamus sent some of his corps to Antigonos, to desire him to restore the baggage. He told them, he would not only return the *Argyraspides* their baggage, but treat them, in all respects, with the greatest kindness, provided they would put Eumenes in his hands. The *Argy-*

raspides came into that abominable measure, and agreed to deliver up that brave man alive to his enemies. In pursuance of this scheme, they approached him unsuspected, and planted themselves about him. Some lamented the loss of their baggage, some desired him to assume the spirit of victory, which he had gained; others accused the rest of their commanders. Thus watching their opportunity, they fell upon him, took away his sword, and bound his hands behind him with his own girdle.

Nicanor was sent by Antigonus to receive him. But, as they led him through the midst of the Macedonians, he desired first to speak to them; not for any request he had to make, but upon matters of great importance to *them*. Silence being made, he ascended an eminence, and stretching out his hands, bound as they were, he said: "What trophy, ye vilest of all the Macedonians! what trophy could Antigonus have wished to raise, like this which you are raising, by delivering up your general bound? Was it not base enough to acknowledge yourselves beaten, merely for the sake of your baggage, as if victory dwelt among your goods and chattels, and not upon the points of your swords; but you must also send your general as a ransom for that baggage? For my part, though thus led, I am not conquered; I have beaten the enemy, and am ruined by my fellow-soldiers. But I conjure you by the god of armies*, and the awful deities who preside over oaths, to kill me here with your own hands. If my life be taken by another, the deed will be still yours. Nor will Antigonus complain, if you take the work out of his hands; for he wants not Eumenes alive, but Eumenes dead. If you choose not to be the immediate instruments, loose but one of my hands,

* Jupiter.

and that shall do the business. If you will not trust me with a sword, throw me bound as I am, to wild beasts. If you comply with this last request, I acquit you of all guilt with respect to me, and declare you have behaved to your general like the best and honestest of men."

The rest of the troops received this speech with sighs and tears, and every expression of sorrow; but the *Argyraspides* cried out, "Lead him on, and attend not to his trifling. For it is no such great matter, if an execrable Chersonesian, who has harassed the Macedonians with infinite wars, have cause to lament his fate; as it would be, if the best of Alexander's and Philip's soldiers should be deprived of the fruit of their labours, and have their bread to beg in their old age. And have not our wives already passed three nights with our enemies?" So saying they drove him forward.

Antigonus, fearing some bad consequence from the crowd (for there was not a man left in his camp), sent out ten of his best elephants, and a corps of spearmen, who were Medes and Parthians, to keep them off. He could not bear to have Eumenes brought into his presence, because of the former friendly connexions there had been between them. And when those who took the charge of him, asked, in what manner he would have him kept? He said, "So as you would keep an elephant or a lion." Nevertheless, he soon felt some impressions of pity, and ordered them to take off his heavy chains, and allow him a servant who had been accustomed to wait upon him. He likewise permitted such of his friends as desired it to pass whole days with him, and to bring him necessary refreshments. Thus he spent some considerable time in deliberating how to dispose of him, and sometimes listened to the applications and promises of Nearches the Cretan, and

his own son Demetrius, who made it a point to save him. But all the other officers insisted that he should be put to death, and urged Antigonus to give directions for it.

One day, we are told, Eumenes asked his keeper, Onomarchus, "Why Antigonus, now he had got his enemy into his power, did not either immediately despatch him, or generously release him?" Onomarchus answered, in a contemptuous manner, "That in the battle, and not now, he should have been so ready to meet death." To which Eumenes replied, "By heavens I was so! Ask those who ventured to engage me, if I was not. I do not know that I met with a better man than myself."—"Well," said Onomarchus, "now you have found a better man than yourself, why do you not patiently wait his time?"

When Antigonus had resolved upon his death, he gave orders that he should have no kind of food. By this means in two or three days time, he began to draw near his end: And then Antigonus, being obliged to decamp upon some sudden emergency, sent in an executioner to despatch him. The body he delivered to his friends, allowing them to burn it honourably, and to collect the ashes into a silver urn, in order to their being sent to his wife and children.

Thus died Eumenes: And divine justice did not go far to seek instruments of vengeance against the officers* and soldiers who had betrayed him. Antigonus himself detesting the *Argyraspides* as impious and savage wretches, ordered Ibyrtius, governor of

* Antigonus, commander in chief of the *Silver Shields*, was, by order of Antigonus, put in a coffin and burned alive. Eudamias, Colbanus, and many others of the enemies of Eumenes, experienced a like fate.

Arachosia*, under whose directions he put them, to take every method to destroy them; so that not one of them might return to Macedonia, or set his eyes upon the Grecian sea.

SERTORIUS AND EUMENES COMPARED.

THESE are the most remarkable particulars which history has given us concerning Eumenes and Sertorius. And now to come to the comparision. We observe first, that though they were both strangers, aliens, and exiles, they had, to the end of their days, the command of many warlike nations, and great and respectable armies. Sertorius, indeed, has this advantage, that his fellow-warriors ever freely gave up the command to him on account of his superior merit; whereas many disputed the post of honour with Eumenes, and it was his actions only that obtained it for him. The officers of Sertorius were ambitious to have him at their head; but those who acted under Eumenes never had recourse to him, till experience had showed them their own incapacity, and the necessity of employing another.

The one was a Roman, and commanded the Spaniards and Lusitanians, who for many years had been subject to Rome; the other was a Chersonesian, and commanded the Macedonians, who had conquered the whole world. It should be considered too, that Sertorius the more easily made his way, because he was a senator, and had led armies before;

* A province of Parthia, near Bactriana.

but Eumenes with the disadvantage of having been only a secretary, raised himself to the first military employments. Nor had Eumenes only fewer advantages, but greater impediments also in the road to honour. Numbers opposed him openly, and as many formed private designs against his life; whereas no man ever opposed Sertorius in public, and it was not till towards the last, that a few of his own party entered upon a private scheme to destroy him. The dangers of Sertorius were generally over when he had gained a victory; and the dangers of Eumenes grew out of his very victories, among those who envied his success.

Their military performances were equal and similar, but their dispositions were very different. Eumenes loved war, and had a native spirit of contention; Sertorius loved peace and tranquillity. The former might have lived in great security and honour, if he would not have stood in the way of the great; but he rather chose to tread for ever in the uneasy paths of power, though he had to fight every step he took: the latter would gladly have withdrawn from the tumult of public affairs; but was forced to continue the war, to defend himself against his restless persecutors. For Antigonus would have taken pleasure in employing Eumenes, if he would have given up the dispute for superiority, and been content with the station next to his; whereas Pompey would not grant Sertorius his request to live a private citizen. Hence, the one voluntarily engaged in war, for the sake of gaining the chief command; the other involuntarily took the command, because he could not live in peace. Eumenes, therefore, in his passion for the camp, preferred ambition to safety; Sertorius was an able warrior, but employed his talents only for the safety of his person. The one was not apprized of his impending fate; the other expected his every

moment. The one had the candid praise of confidence in his friends; the other incurred the censure of weakness; for he would have fled*, but could not. The death of Sertorius did no dishonour to his life; he suffered that from his fellow-soldiers which the enemy could not have effected. Eumenes could not avoid his chains, yet after the indignity of chains†, he wanted to live; so that he could neither escape death, nor meet it as he ought to have done; but, by having recourse to mean applications and entreaties, put his mind in the power of the man who was only master of his body.

AGESILAUS.

ARCHIDAMUS‡, the son of Xeuxidamus, after having governed the Lacedæmonians with a very respectable character, left behind him two sons; the one named Agis, whom he had by Lampito§, a woman of an illustrious family; the other much younger, named Agesilaus, whom he had by Eupolia, the daughter of Melisippidas. As the crown, by law, was to descend to Agis, Agesilaus had nothing to expect but a private station, and therefore had a common Lacedæmonian education; which,

* Upon notice of the intention of his enemies to destroy him after the battle, he deliberated whether he should give up the victory to Antigonus, or retire into Cappadocia.

† This does not appear from Plutarch's account of him. He only desired Antigonus either to give immediate orders for his execution, or to show his generosity in releasing him.

‡ Archidamus II.

§ Lampito, or Lampido, was sister to Archidamus by the father's side. Vid. PLAT. ALCIBIAD.

though hard in respect of diet, and full of laborious exercises, was well calculated to teach the youth obedience. Hence, Simonides is said to have called that famed city, *the man-subduing* Sparta, because it was the principal tendency of her discipline to make the citizens obedient and submissive to the laws; and she trained her youth as the colt is trained to the menage. The law does not lay the young princes who are educated for the throne under the same necessity. But Agesilaus was singular in this, that before he came to govern, he had learned to obey. Hence it was that he accommodated himself with a better grace to his subjects than any other of the kings; having added to his princely talents and inclinations a humane manner and popular civility.

While he was yet in one of the classes or societies of boys, Lysander had that honourable attachment to him which the Spartans distinguish with the name love. He was charmed with his ingenuous modesty. For, though he had a spirit above his companions, an ambition to excel, which made him unwilling to sit down without the prize, and a vigour and impetuosity which could not be conquered or borne down, yet he was equally remarkable for his gentleness, where it was necessary to obey. At the same time, it appeared, that his obedience was not owing to fear, but to the principle of honour, and that throughout his whole conduct he dreaded disgrace more than toil.

He was lame of one leg: but that defect, during his youth, was covered by the agreeable turn of the rest of his person; and the easy and cheerful manner in which he bore it, and his being the first to rally himself upon it, always made it the less regarded. Nay, that defect made his spirit of enterprise more remarkable; for he never declined on that account any undertaking, however difficult or laborious.

We have no portrait or statue of him. He would not suffer any to be made while he lived, and at his death he utterly forbade it. We are only told, that he was a little man, and that he had not a commanding aspect. But a perpetual vivacity and cheerfulness, attended with a talent for raillery, which was expressed without any severity either of voice or look, made him more agreeable, even in age, than the young and the handsome. Theophrastus tells us, the *Ephori* fined Archidamus for marrying a little woman. "She will bring us," said they, "a race of pigmies, instead of kings."

During the reign of Agis, Alcibiades, upon his quitting Sicily, came an exile to Lacedæmon. And he had not been there long, before he was suspected of a criminal commerce with Timæa, the wife of Agis. Agis would not acknowledge the child which she had for him, but said it was the son of Alcibiades. Duris informs us, that the queen was not displeased at the supposition, and that she used to whisper to her women, the child should be called Alcibiades, not Leotychidas. He adds, that Alcibiades himself scrupled not to say, "He did not approach Timæa to gratify his appetite, but from an ambition to give kings to Sparta." However, he was obliged to fly from Sparta, lest Agis should revenge the injury. And that prince looking upon Leotychidas with an eye of suspicion, did not take notice of him as a son. Yet, in his last sickness, Leotychidas prevailed upon him, by his tears and entreaties, to acknowledge him as such before many witnesses.

Notwithstanding this public declaration, Agis was no sooner dead, than Lysander, who had vanquished the Athenians at sea, and had great power and interest in Sparta, advanced Agesilaus to the throne; alleging that Leotychidas was a bastard, and consequently had no right to it. Indeed, the

generality of the citizens, knowing the virtues of Agesilaus, and that he had been educated with them in all the severity of the Spartan discipline, joined with pleasure in the scheme.

There was then at Sparta a diviner, named Diopithes, well versed in ancient prophecies, and supposed an able interpreter of every thing relating to the gods. This man insisted, it was contrary to the divine will, that a lame man should sit on the throne of Sparta; and on the day the point was to be decided, he publicly read this oracle—

Beware, proud Sparta, lest a maimed empire*
Thy boasted strength impair; far other woes
Than thou behold'st, await thee—borne away
By the strong tide of war————

Lysander observing upon this, that if the Spartans were solicitous to act literally according to the oracle, they ought to beware of Leotychidas: for that heaven did not consider it as a matter of importance, if the king happened to have a lame foot: the thing to be guarded against was the admission of a person who was not a genuine descendant of Hercules; for that would make the kingdom itself lame. Agesilaus added, that Neptune had borne witness to the bastardy of Leotychidas, in throwing Agis out of his bed by an earthquake†; ten months after which, and more, Leotychidas was born; though Agis did not cohabit with Timæa during that time.

By these ways and means Agesilaus gained the diadem, and at the same time was put in possession of the private estate of Agis; Leotychidas being rejected on account of his illegitimacy. Observing,

* The two legs of the Spartan constitution were the two kings, which therefore must be in a maimed and ruined state when one of them was gone. In fact the consequence produced not a just and good monarch, but a tyrant.

† See Xenophon, Grecian Hist. book iii.

however, that his relations by the mother's side, though men of merit, were very poor, he gave a moiety of the estate among them; by which means the inheritance procured him respect and honour, instead of envy and aversion.

Xenophon tells us, that by obedience to the laws of his country, Agesilaus gained so much power that his will was not disputed. The case was this. The principal authority was then in the hands of the *Ephori* and the senate. The *Ephori* were annual magistrates, and the senators had their office for life. They were both appointed as a barrier against the power of the kings, as we have observed in the life of Lycurgus. The kings, therefore, had an old and hereditary antipathy to them, and perpetual disputes subsisted between them. But Lysander took a different course. He gave up all thoughts of opposition and contention, and paid his court to them on every occasion; taking care, in all his enterprises, to set out under their auspices. If he was called, he went faster than usual: if he was upon his throne, administering justice, he rose up when the *Ephori* approached: if any one of them was admitted a member of the senate, he sent him a robe and an ox*, as marks of honour. Thus, while he seemed to be adding to the dignity and importance of their body, he was privately increasing his own strength, and the authority of the crown, through their support and attachment.

In his conduct with respect to the other citizens, he behaved better as an enemy than as a friend. If he was severe to his enemies, he was not unjustly so; his friends he countenanced even in their unjust pursuits. If his enemies performed any thing extraordinary, he was ashamed not to take honourable notice of it; his friends he could not correct when

* Emblems of magistracy and patriotism.

they did amiss. On the contrary, it was his pleasure to support them, and go the same lengths they did; for he thought no service dishonourable which he did in the way of friendship. Nay, if his adversaries fell into any misfortune, he was the first to sympathize with them, and ready to give them his assistance, if they desired it. By these means he gained the hearts of all his people.

The *Ephori* saw this, and, in their fear of his increasing power, imposed a fine upon him; alleging this as the reason, that whereas the citizens ought to be in common, he appropriated them to himself. As the writers upon physics say, that if war and discord were banished the universe, the heavenly bodies would stop their course, and all generation and motion would cease, by reason of that perfect harmony; so the great Lawgiver infused a spirit of ambition and contention into the Spartan constitution, as an incentive to virtue, and wished always to see some difference and dispute among the good and virtuous. He thought that general complaisance, which leads men to yield to the next proposal, without exploring each other's intentions, and without debating on the consequences, was an inert principle, and deserved not the name of harmony*. Some imagine that Homer saw this; and that he would not have made Agamemnon rejoice †, when Ulysses and Achilles contended in such opprobrious terms, if he had not expected that some great benefit would arise to their affairs in general, from this particular quarrel among the great. This point, however, cannot be agreed to without some exception; for violent

* Upon the same principle, we need not be greatly alarmed at party disputes in our own nation. They will not expire but with liberty. And such ferments are often necessary to throw off vicious humours.

† *Odyssey*, lib. viii.

disensions are pernicious to a state, and productive of the greatest dangers.

Agesilaus had not been long seated on the throne before accounts were brought from Asia, that the king of Persia was preparing a great fleet to dispossess the Lacedæmonians of their dominion of the sea. Lysander was very desirous to be sent again into Asia, that he might support his friends whom he left governors and masters of the cities, and many of whom, having abused their authority to the purposes of violence and injustice, were banished or put to death by the people. He therefore persuaded Agesilaus to enter Asia with his forces, and fix the seat of war at the greatest distance from Greece, before the Persian could have finished his preparations. At the same time he instructed his friends in Asia to send deputies to Lacedæmon, to desire Agesilaus might be appointed to that command.

Agesilaus received their proposals in full assembly of the people, and agreed to undertake the war, on condition they would give him thirty Spartans, for his officers and counsellors, a select corps of two thousand newly enfranchised *Helots*, and six thousand of the allies. All this was readily decreed, through the influence of Lysander, and Agesilaus sent out with the thirty Spartans. Lysander was soon at the head of the council, not only on account of his reputation and power, but the friendship of Agesilaus, who thought the procuring him this command a greater thing than the raising him to the throne.

While his forces were assembling at Geræstus, he went with his friends to Aulis; and passing the night there, he dreamed that a person addressed him in this manner: "You are sensible that, since Agamemnon, none has been appointed captain-general of all Greece, but yourself, the king of Sparta; and

you are the only person who ~~have~~ arrived at that honour. Since, therefore, you command the same people, and go against the same enemies with him, as well as take your departure from the same place, you ought to propitiate the goddess with the same sacrifice, which he offered here before he sailed."

Agesilaus at first thought of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, whom her father offered in obedience to the soothsayers. This circumstance, however, did not give him any pain. In the morning he related the vision to his friends, and told them he would honour the goddess with what a superior Being might reasonably be supposed to take pleasure in, and not imitate the savage ignorance of his predecessor. In consequence of which, he crowned a hind with flowers, and delivered her to her own soothsayer, with orders that he should perform the ceremony, and not the person appointed to that office by the Bœotians. The first magistrates of Bœotia, incensed at this innovation, sent their officers to insist that Agesilaus should not sacrifice contrary to the laws and customs of Bœotia. And the officers not only gave him such notice, but threw the thighs of the victim from the altar. Agesilaus was highly offended at this treatment, and departed in great wrath with the Thebans. Nor could he conceive any hopes of success after such an omen; on the contrary, he concluded his operations would be incomplete, and his expedition not answer the intention.

When he came to Ephesus, the power and interest of Lysander appeared in a very obnoxious light. The gates of that minister were continually crowded, and all applications were made to him; as if Agesilaus had only the name and badges of command, to save the forms of law, and Lysander had in fact the power, and all business were to pass through his hands. Indeed, none of the generals who were

gent to Asia, ever had greater sway, or were more dreaded than he; none ever served their friends more effectually, or humbled their enemies so much. These were things fresh in every one's memory; and when they compared also the plain, the mild, and popular behaviour of Agesilaus, with the stern, the short, and authoritative manner of Lysander, they submitted to the latter entirely, and attended to him alone.

The other Spartans first expressed their resentment, because that attention to Lysander made them appear rather as his ministers, than as counsellors to the king. Afterwards Agesilaus himself was piqued at it. For, though he had no envy in his nature, or jealousy of honours paid to merit, yet he was ambitious of glory, and firm in asserting his claim to it. Besides, he was apprehensive that if any great actions were performed, it would be imputed to Lysander, on account of the superior light in which he had still been considered.

The method he took to obviate it was this. His first step was, to oppose the counsels of Lysander, and to pursue measures different from those, for which he was most earnest. Another step was to reject the petitions of all who appeared to apply to him through the interest of that minister. In matters too, which were brought before the king in a judicial way, those against whom Lysander exerted himself were sure to gain their cause; and they for whom he appeared could scarce escape without a fine. As these things happened not casually, but constantly and of set purpose, Lysander perceived the cause, and concealed it not from his friends. He told them, it was on his account they were disgraced, and desired them to pay their court to the king, and to those who had greater interest with him than himself. These proceedings seemed invidious, and

intended to depreciate the king: Agesilaus, therefore, to mortify him still more, appointed him his carver: and we are told, he said before a large company, "Now let them go and pay their court to my carver."

Lysander, unable to bear this last instance of contempt, said, "Agesilaus, you know very well how to lessen your friends." Agesilaus answered, "I know very well who want to be greater than myself." "But perhaps," said Lysander, "that has rather been so represented to you, than attempted by me. Place me, however, where I may serve you, without giving you the least umbrage." Upon this, Agesilaus appointed him his lieutenant in the Hellespont, where he persuaded Spithridates, a Persian, in the province of Pharnabazus, to come over to the Greeks, with a considerable treasure, and two hundred horse. Yet he retained his resentment, and nourishing the remembrance of the affront he had received, considered how he might deprive the two families of the privilege of giving kings to Sparta*, and open the way to that high station to all the citizens. And it seems that he would have raised great commotions in pursuit of his revenge, if he had not been killed in this expedition into Bœotia. Thus ambitious spirits, when they go beyond certain bounds, do much more harm than good to the community. For if Lysander was to blame, as in fact he was, in indulging an unreasonable avidity of honour, Agesilaus might have known other methods to correct the fault of a man of his character and spirit. But, under the influence of the same passion, the one knew not how to pay proper respect to his general, nor the other how to bear the imperfections of his friend.

At first Tisaphernes was afraid of Agesilaus, and

* The Eurytionidæ and the Agidæ.

undertook by treaty, that the king would leave the Grecian cities to be governed by their own laws: but afterwards thinking his strength sufficiently increased, he declared war. This was an event very agreeable to Agesilaus. He hoped great things from this expedition*; and he considered it as a circumstance which would reflect dishonour upon himself, that Xenophon could conduct ten thousand Greeks from the heart of Asia to the sea, and beat the king of Persia whenever his forces thought proper to engage him; if he, at the head of the Lacedæmonians, who were masters both at sea and land, could not distinguish himself before the Greeks by some great and memorable stroke.

To revenge, therefore, the perjury of Tisaphernes, by an artifice which justice recommended, he pretended immediately to march into Caria; and when the barbarian had drawn his forces to that quarter, he turned short, and entered Phrygia. There he took many cities; and made himself master of immense treasures; by which he showed his friends, that to violate a treaty is to despise the gods; whilst to deceive an enemy is not only just but glorious, and the way to add profit to pleasure: but, as he was inferior in cavalry, and the liver of the victim appeared without a head, he retired to Ephesus, to raise that sort of troops which he wanted. The method he took was, to insist that every man of substance, if he did not choose to serve in person, should provide a horse and a man. Many accepted the alternative; and, instead of a parcel of indifferent combatants, such as the rich would have made, he soon got a numerous, and respectable cavalry. For

* He told the Persian ambassadors, "He was much obliged to their master for the step he had taken, since by the violation of his oath he had made the gods enemies to Persia, and friends to Greece."

those who did not choose to serve at all, or not to serve as horse, hired others who wanted neither courage nor inclination. In this he professedly imitated Agamemnon, who for a good mare excused a dastardly rich man the service*.

One day he ordered his commissaries to sell the prisoners, but to strip them first. Their clothes found many purchasers; but as to the prisoners themselves, their skins being soft and white, by reason of their having lived so much within doors, the spectators only laughed at them, thinking they would be of no service as slaves. Whereupon Agesilaus, who stood by at the auction, said to his troops, "These are the persons whom ye fight with;" and then pointing to the rich spoils, "Those are the things ye fight for."

When the season called him into the field again, he gave it out that Lydia was his object. In this he did not deceive Tisaphernes: that general, deceived himself. For, giving no heed to the declarations of Agesilaus, because he had been imposed upon by them before, he concluded he would now enter Caria, a country not convenient for cavalry, in which his strength did not lie. Agesilaus, as he had proposed, went and sat down on the plains of Sardis, and Tisaphernes was forced to march thither in great haste with succours. The Persian, ~~as~~ he advanced with his cavalry cut off a number of the Greeks who were scattered up and down for plunder. Agesi-

- * Then Menelaus his Podargus brings,
And the famed courser of the king of kings;
Whom rich Echepolus (more rich than brave)
To scape the war, to Agamemnon gave
(Ælbe her name), at home to end his days,
Base wealth preferring to eternal praise.

PoRt, li. xxiii,

Thus Scipio, when he went to Africa, ordered the Sicilians either to attend him, or to give him horses or men.

was, however, considered that the enemy's infantry could not yet be come up; whereas he had all his forces about him; and therefore resolved to give battle immediately. Pursuant to this resolution, he mixed his light-armed foot with the horse, and ordered them to advance swiftly to the charge, while he was bringing up the heavy-armed troops, which would not be far behind. The barbarians were soon put to flight; the Greeks pursued them, took their camp, and killed great numbers.

In consequence of this success, they could pillage the king's country in full security, and had all the satisfaction to see Tisaphernes, a man of abandoned character, and one of the greatest enemies to their name and nation, properly punished. For the king immediately sent Tithraustes against him, who cut off his head. At the same time he desired Agesilaus to grant him peace, promising him large sums*, on condition that he would evacuate his dominions. Agesilaus answered, "His country was the sole arbitress of peace. For his own part, he rather chose to enrich his soldiers than himself; and the great honour among the Greeks was to carry home spoils, and not presents, from their enemies." Nevertheless, to gratify Tithraustes, for destroying Tisaphernes, the common enemy of the Greeks, he decamped and retired into Phrygia, taking thirty talents of that victory to defray the charges of his march.

As he was upon the road, he received the *scytale* from the magistrates of the Lacedæmon, which in-

* He promised also to restore the Greek cities in Asia to their liberty, on condition that they paid the established tribute; and he hoped (he said) that this condescension would persuade Agesilaus to accept the peace, and to return home; the rather, because Tisaphernes, who was guilty of the first breach, was punished as he deserved.

vested him with the command of the navy as well as army; an honour which that city never granted to any one but himself. He was, indeed (as Theopompus somewhere says), confessedly the greatest and most illustrious man of his time; yet he placed his dignity rather in his virtue than his power. Notwithstanding, there was this flaw in his character: when he had the conduct of the navy given him, he committed that charge to Pisander, when there were other officers of greater age and abilities at hand. Pisander was his wife's brother, and, in compliment to her, he respected that alliance more than the public good.

He took up his own quarters in the province of Pharnabazus, where he not only lived in plenty, but raised considerable subsidies. From thence he proceeded to Paphlagonia, and drew Cotys, the king of that country, into his interest, who had been some time desirous of such a connexion, on account of the virtue and honour which marked his character. Spithridates, who was the first person of consequence that came over from Pharnabazus, accompanied Agesilaus in all his expeditions, and took a share in all his dangers. This Spithridates had a son, a handsome youth, for whom Agesilaus had a particular regard, and a beautiful daughter in the flower of her age, whom he married to Cotys. Cotys gave him a thousand horse, and two thousand men draughted from his light-armed troops; and with these he returned to Phrygia.

Agesilaus committed great ravages in that province; but Pharnabazus did not wait to oppose him, or trust his own garrisons. Instead of that, he took his most valuable things with him, and moved from place to place, to avoid a battle. Spithridates, however watched him so narrowly, that, with the assist-

ance of Herippidas* the Spartan, at last he made himself master of his camp and all his treasures. Herippidas made it his business to examine what part of the baggage was secreted, and compelled the barbarians to restore it; he looked, indeed, with a keen eye into every thing. This provoked Spithridates to such a degree, that he immediately marched off with the Paphlagonians to Sardis.

There was nothing in the whole war that touched Agesilaus more nearly than this.* Beside the pain it gave him to think he had lost Spithridates, and a considerable body of men with him, he was ashamed of a mark of avarice and illiberal meanness, from which he had ever studied to keep both himself and his country. These were causes of uneasiness that might be publicly acknowledged; but he had a private, and a more sensible one, in his attachment to the son of Spithridates; though while he was with him, he had made a point to combat that attachment.

One day Megabates approached to salute him, and Agesilaus declined that mark of his affection. The youth, after this, was more distant in his addresses. Then Agesilaus was sorry for the repulse he had given him, and pretended to wonder why Megabates kept at such a distance. His friends told him, he must blame himself for rejecting his former application. "He would still," said they, "be glad to pay his most obliging respects to you; but take care you do not reject them again." Agesilaus was silent some time; and when he had considered the thing, he said, "Do not mention it to him. For this second victory over myself gives me

* Herippidas was at the head of the new council of thirty, sent to Agesilaus the second year of the war.

more pleasure than I should have in turning all I look upon to gold." This resolution of his held while Megabates was with him; but he was so much affected at his departure, that it is hard to say how he would have behaved, if he had found him again.

After this, Pharnabazus desired a conference with him; and Apollophanes of Cyzicus, at whose house they had both been entertained, procured an interview. Agesilaus came first to the place appointed, with his friends, and sat down upon the long grass under a shade, to wait for Pharnabazus. When the Persian grandee came, his servants spread soft skins and beautiful pieces of tapestry for him; but, upon seeing Agesilaus so seated, he was ashamed to make use of them, and placed himself carelessly upon the grass in the same manner, though his robes were delicate, and of the finest colours.

After mutual salutations, Pharnabazus opened the conference; and he had just cause of complaint against the Lacedæmonians, after the services he had done them in the Athenian war, and their late ravages in his country. Agesilaus saw the Spartans were at a loss for an answer, and kept their eyes fixed upon the ground; for they knew that Pharnabazus was injured. However, the Spartan general found an answer, which was as follows: "While we were friends to the king of Persia, we treated him and his in a friendly manner: now we are enemies, you can expect nothing from us but hostilities. Therefore, while you, Pharnabazus, choose to be a vassal to the king, we wound him through your sides. Only be a friend and ally to the Greeks, and shake off that vassalage, and from that moment you have a right to consider these battalions, these arms and ships, in short, all that we are or have, as guardians of your possessions and your liberty;

without which nothing is great or desirable among men*.

Pharnabazus then explained himself in these terms: "If the king sends another lieutenant in my room, I will be for you; but while he continues me in the government, I will, to the best of my power, repel force with force, and make reprisals upon you for him." Agesilaus, charmed with this reply, took his hand, and rising up with him said: "Heaven grant that, with such sentiments as these, you may be our friend, and not our enemy!"

As Pharnabazus and his company were going away, his son, who was behind, ran up to Agesilaus, and said, with a smile, "Sir, I enter with you into the rites of hospitality:" at the same time he gave him a javelin which he had in his hand. Agesilaus received it; and, delighted with his looks and kind regards, looked about for something handsome to give a youth of his princely appearance in return. His secretary Adæus happening to have a horse with magnificent furniture just by, he ordered it to be taken off and given to the young man. Nor did he forget him afterwards. In process of time this Persian was driven from his home by his brothers, and forced to take refuge in Peloponnesus. Agesilaus then took him into his protection, and served him on all occasions. The Persian had a favourite in the wrestling ring at Athens, who wanted to be introduced at the Olympic games; but as he was past the proper age, they did not choose to admit him†.

* He added, "However, if we continue at war, I will, for the future, avoid your territories as much as possible, and rather forage and raise contributions in any other province." *Xen. Grec. War, b. iv.*

† Sometimes boys had a share in these exhibitions, who after a certain age were excluded the lists.

In this case the Persian applied to Agesilaus, who, willing to oblige him in this as well as other things, procured the young man the admission he desired, though not without much difficulty.

Agesilaus, indeed, in other respects, was strictly and inflexibly just; but where a man's friends were concerned, he thought a rigid regard to justice a mere pretence.—There is still extant a short letter of his to Hydrieus the Carian, which is a proof of what we have said. “If Nicias is innocent, acquit him: if he is not innocent, acquit him on my account: however, be sure to acquit him.”

Such was the general character of Agesilaus as a friend. There were, indeed, times when his attachments gave way to the exigences of state. Once being obliged to decamp in a hurry, he was leaving a favourite sick behind him. The favourite called after him, and earnestly entreated him to come back; upon which he turned and said, “How little consistent are love and prudence!” This particular we have from Hieronymus the philosopher.

Agesilaus had been now two years at the head of the army, and was become the general subject of discourse in the upper provinces. His wisdom, his disinterestedness, his moderation, was the theme they dwelt upon with pleasure. Whenever he made an excursion, he lodged in the temples most renowned for sanctity: and whereas, on many occasions, we do not choose that men should see what we are about, he was desirous to have the gods' inspectors, and witnesses of his conduct. Among so many thousands of soldiers as he had, there was scarce one who had a worse or a harder bed than he. He was so fortified against heat and cold that none was so well prepared as himself for whatever seasons the climate should produce.

The Greeks in Asia never saw a more agreeable

spectacle than when the Persian governors and generals, who had been insufferably elated with power, and rolled in riches and luxury, humbly submitting and paying their court to a man in a coarse cloak, and, upon one laconic word, conforming to his sentiments, or rather transforming themselves into another shape. Many thought that line of Timotheus applicable on this occasion—

MARS is the god ; and Greece reveres not GOLD.

All Asia was now ready to revolt from the Persians. Agesilaus brought the cities under excellent regulations, and settled their police, without putting to death or banishing a single subject. After which he resolved to change the seat of war, and to remove it from the Grecian sea to the heart of Persia ; that the king might have to fight for Ecbatana and Susa, instead of sitting at his ease there, to bribe the states, and hire the states of Greece to destroy each other. But amidst these schemes of his, Epicydidas the Spartan came to acquaint him, that Sparta was involved in a Grecian war, and that the Ephori had sent him orders to come home and defend his own country.

Unhappy Greeks ! barbarians to each other !

What better name can we give that envy which incited them to conspire and combine for their mutual destruction, at a time when Fortune had taken them upon her wings, and was carrying them against the barbarians ; and yet they clipped her wings with their own hands, and brought the war home to themselves, which was happily removed into a foreign country *. I cannot, indeed, agree with Demaratus

* That corruption which brought the states of Greece to take Persian gold, undoubtedly deserves censure. Yet we must take leave to observe, that the divisions and jealousies

of Corinth, when he says, those Greeks fall short of great happiness, who did not live to see Alexander seated on the throne of Darius. But I think the Greeks had just cause for tears, when they considered that they left that to Alexander and the Macedonians, which might have been effected by the generals whom they slew in the fields of Leuctra, Coronea, Corinth, and Arcadia.

However, of all the actions of Agesilaus, there is none which had greater propriety, or was a stronger instance of his obedience to the laws and justice to the public, than his immediate return to Sparta. Hannibal, though his affairs were in a desperate condition, and he was almost beaten out of Italy, made a difficulty of obeying the summons of his countrymen to go and defend them in a war at home. And Alexander made a jest of the information he received, that Agis had fought a battle with Antipater: He said, "It seems, my friends, that while we were conquering Darius here, there was a combat of mice in Arcadia." How happy then was Sparta in the respect which Agesilaus paid her, and in his reverence for the laws! No sooner was the *scytala* brought him, though in the midst of his power and good fortune, than he resigned and abandoned his flourishing prospects, sailed home, and left his great work unfinished. Such was the regret his friends as well as allies had for the loss of him, that it was a strong confutation of the saying of Demosthenes the Phœacian, "That the Lacedæmonians

which reigned in Greece were the support of its liberties, and that Persia was not conquered till nothing but the shadow of those liberties remained. Were there, indeed, a number of little independent states which made justice the constant rule of their conduct to each other, and which would be always ready to unite upon any alarm, from a formidable enemy, they might preserve their liberties inviolate for ever.

excelled in public, and the Athenians in private characters." For, though he had great merit as a king and a general, yet still he was a more desirable friend, and an agreeable companion.

As the Persian money had the impression of an archer, he said, "He was driven out of Asia by ten thousand of the king's archers *." For the orators of Athens and Thebes having been bribed with so many pieces of money, had excited their countrymen to take up arms against Sparta.

When he had crossed the Hellespont, he marched through Thrace without asking leave of any of the barbarians. He only desired to know of each people, "Whether they would have him pass as a friend or as an enemy?" All the rest received him with tokens of friendship, and showed him all the civilities in their power on his way; but the Trallians †, of whom Xerxes is said to have bought a passage, demanded of Agesilaus a hundred talents of silver, and as many women. He answered the messenger ironically, "Why did not they then come to receive them?" At the same time he marched forward, and finding them drawn up to oppose him, he gave them battle, and routed them with great slaughter.

He sent some of his people to put the same question to the king of Macedon, who answered, "I will consider of it." "Let him consider," said he; "in the mean time we march." The king, surprised and awed by his spirit, desired him to pass as a friend.

The Thessalians were confederates with the enemies

* Tithraustes sent Timocrates of Rhodes into Greece with fifty talents, which he distributed at Thebes, Argos, and Corinth; but, according to Xenophon, Athens had no share in that distribution.

† Beside the Trallians in Lydia, there was a people of that name in Myricum, upon the confines of Thrace and Macedonia. So at least, according to Dacier, Theopompus (ap. Steph.) testifies.

of Sparta, and therefore he laid waste their territories. To the city of Larissa, indeed, he offered his friendship; by his ambassadors, Penocles and Scytha: but the people seized them and put them in prison. His troops so resented this affront that they would have had him go and lay siege to the place. Agesilaus, however, was of another mind. He said, "He would not lose one of his ambassadors for gaining all Thessaly;" and he afterwards found means to recover them by treaty. Nor are we to wonder that Agesilaus took this step, since, upon news being brought him that a great battle had been fought near Corinth, in which many brave men were suddenly taken off, but that the loss of the Spartans was small in comparison of that of the enemy, he was not elevated in the least. On the contrary, he said, with a deep sigh, "Unhappy Greece! why hast thou destroyed so many brave men with thy own hands, who, had they lived, might have conquered all the barbarians in the world?"

However, as the Pharsalians attacked and harassed him in his march, he engaged them with five hundred horse, and put them to flight. He was so much pleased with this success, that he erected a trophy under mount Nanthacium; and he valued himself the more upon it, because with so small a number of his own training, he had beaten people who reckoned theirs the best cavalry in Greece. Here Diphridas, one of the Ephori, met him, and gave him orders to enter Bœotia immediately. And though his intention was to do it afterwards, when he had strengthened his army with some reinforcements, he thought it was not right to disobey the magistrates. He therefore said to those about him, "Now comes the day, for which we were called out of Asia." At the same time he sent for two cohorts from the army near Corinth. And the Lacedæmo-

nians did him the honour to cause proclamation to be made at home, that such of the youth as were inclined to go and assist the king might give in their names. All the young men in Sparta presented themselves for that service; but the magistrates selected only fifty of the ablest, and sent them.

Agesilaus, having passed the straits of Thermopylæ, and traversed Phocis, which was in friendship with the Spartans, entered Bœotia, and encamped upon the plains of Chæronea. He had scarce entrenched himself, when there happened an eclipse of the sun. At the same time he received an account that Pisander was defeated at sea, and killed, by Pharnabazus and Conon. He was much afflicted with his own loss, as well as that of the public.—Yet, lest his army, which was going to give battle, should be discouraged at the news, he ordered his messengers to give out that Pisander was victorious. Nay, he appeared in public with a chaplet of flowers, returned solemn thanks for the pretended success, and sent portions of the sacrifice to his friends.

When he came up to Coronea †, and was in view of the enemy, he drew up his army. The left wing he gave to the Orchomenians, and took the right himself. The Thebans also, putting themselves in order of battle, placed themselves on the right, and the Argives on the left. Xenophon says, that this was the most furious battle in his time; and he certainly was able to judge, for he fought in it for Agesilaus, with whom he returned from Asia.

* THIS eclipse happened on the twenty-ninth of August, in the third year of the ninety-sixth olympiad, three hundred and ninety-two years before the Christian era.

† In the printed text it is Coronea, nor have we any various reading. But undoubtedly Chæronea, upon the Cephissus, was the place where this battle was fought; and we must not confound it with the battle of Coronea in Thessaly, fought fifty-three years before.

The first charge was neither violent nor lasting : the Thebans soon routed the Orchomenians, and Agesilaus the Argives. But when both parties were informed that their left wings were broken and ready for flight, both hastened to their relief. At this instant Agesilaus might have secured to himself the victory without any risk, if he would have suffered the Thebans to pass and then have charged them in the rear* : but borne along with his fury, and an ambition to display his valour, he attacked them in front, in the confidence of beating them upon equal terms. They received him, however, with equal vivacity, and great efforts were exerted in all quarters, especially where Agesilaus and his fifty Spartans were engaged. It was a happy circumstance that he had those volunteers, and they could not have come more seasonably. For they fought with the most determined valour, and exposed their persons to the greatest dangers in his defence ; yet they could not prevent his being wounded. He was pierced through his armour in many places with spears and swords ; and though they formed a ring about him, it was with difficulty they brought him off alive, after having killed numbers of the enemy, and left not a few of their own body dead upon the spot. At last, finding it impracticable to break the Theban front, they were obliged to have recourse to a manœuvre which at first they scorned. They opened their ranks, and let the Thebans pass ; after which observing that they marched in a disorderly manner, they made up again, and took them in flank and rear. They could not, however, break them. The Thebans retreated to Helicon, valuing themselves much upon the battle, because, their part of the army was a full match for the Lacedæmonians.

* Xenophon gives another turn to the matter ; for with him Agesilaus was never wrong.

Agesilaus, though he was much weakened by his wounds, would not retire to his tent, till he had been carried through all his battalions, and had seen the dead borne off upon their arms. Meantime he was informed, that a part of the enemy had taken refuge in the temple of the Itonian Minerva, and he gave orders that they should be dismissed in safety. Before this temple stood a trophy, which the Bœotians had formerly erected when, under the conduct of Sparton, they had defeated the Athenians, and killed their general Tolmides.*

Early next morning, Agesilaus, willing to try whether the Thebans would renew the combat, commanded his men to wear garlands, and the music to play; while he retired and adorned a trophy in token of victory. At the same time the enemy applied to him for leave to carry off their dead; which circumstance confirmed the victory to him. He, therefore, granted them a truce for that purpose, and then caused himself to be carried to Delphi, where they were celebrating the Pythian games. There he ordered a solemn procession in honour of the god, and consecrated to him the tenth of the spoils he had taken in Asia. The offering amounted to a hundred talents.

Upon his return to Sparta, he was greatly beloved by the citizens, who admired the peculiar temperance of his life. For he did not, like other generals, come changed from a foreign country, nor, in fondness for the fashions he had seen there, disdain those of his own. On the contrary, he showed as much attachment to the Spartan customs as those who had never passed the Eurotas. He changed not his repasts, his baths, the equipage of his wife, the ornaments of his armour, or the furniture of his house. He ever let his doors remain, which were so old

* In the battle of Coronea.

that they seemed to be those set up by Aristodemus*. Xenophon also assures us, that his daughter's carriage was not in the least richer than those of other young ladies. These carriages, called *canathra*, and made use of by the virgins in their solemn processions, were a kind of wooden chaises, made in the form of griffins, or goat stags. Xenophon has not given us the name of this daughter of Agesilaus: and Dicaearchus is greatly dissatisfied, that neither her name is preserved, nor that of the mother of Epaminondas. But we find by some Lacedæmonian inscriptions, that the wife of Agesilaus was called Cleora, and his daughters Apollia and Prolyta†. We see also at Lacedæmon the spear he fought with, which differs not from others.

As he observed that many of the citizens valued themselves upon breeding horses for the Olympic games, he persuaded his sister Cynisca, to make an attempt that way, and to try her fortune in the chariot-race in person. This she did, to show the Greeks that a victory of that kind did not depend upon any extraordinary spirit or abilities, but only upon riches and expense.

Xenophon, so famed for wisdom, spent much of his time with him, and he treated him with great respect. He also desired him to send for his sons, that they might have the benefit of a Spartan education, by which they would gain the best knowledge in the world, the knowing how to command, and how to obey.

After the death of Lysander, he found out a conspiracy, which that general had formed against him

* Aristodemus, the son of Hercules, and founder of the royal family of Sparta, flourished eleven hundred years before the Christian era; so that the gates of Agesilaus's palace, if set up by Aristodemus, had then stood seven hundred and eight years.

† *Eupolia* and *Proenga*. Cod. Vulcob.

immediately after his return from Asia. And he was inclined to show the public what kind of man Lysander really was, by exposing an oration found among his papers, which had been composed for him by Cleon of Halicarnassus, and was to have been delivered by him to the people, in order to facilitate the innovations he was meditating in the constitution. But one of the senators having the perusal of it, and finding it a very plausible composition, advised him "not to dig Lysander out of his grave, but rather to bury the oration with him." The advice appeared reasonable, and he suppressed the paper.

As for the persons who opposed his measures most, he made no open reprisals upon them; but he found means to employ them as generals or governors. When invested with power, they soon showed what unworthy and avaricious men they were, and in consequence were called to account for their proceedings. Then he used to assist them in their distress, and labour to get them acquitted; by which he made them friends and partisans instead of adversaries; so that at last he had no opposition to contend with. For his royal colleague Agesipolis*, being the son of an exile, very young, and of a mild and modest disposition, interfered not much in the affairs of government. Agesilaus contrived to make him yet more tractable. The two kings, when they were at Sparta, eat at the same table. Agesilaus knew that Agesipolis was open to the impressions of love as well as himself, and therefore constantly turned the conversation upon some amiable young person. He even assisted him in his views that way, and brought him at last to fix upon the same favourite with himself. For at Sparta there is nothing criminal in these at-

* Agesipolis was the son of Pausanias.

tachments ; on the contrary (as we have observed in the life of Lycurgus), such love is productive of the greatest modesty and honour, and its characteristic is an ambition to improve the object in virtue.

Agésilas, thus powerful in Sparta, had the advantage of getting Teleutias, his brother by the mother's side, appointed admiral. After which, he marched against Corinth* with his land-forces, and took the long walls : Teleutias assisted his operations by sea. The Argives, who were then in possession of Corinth, were celebrating the Isthmian Games : and Agesilaus coming upon them as they were engaged in the sacrifice, drove them away, and seized upon all that they had prepared for the festival. The Corinthian exiles who attended him, desired him to undertake the exhibition, as president ; but not choosing that, he ordered them to proceed with the solemnity, and stayed to guard them. But when he was gone, the Argives celebrated the games over again ; and some who had gained the prize, before had the same good fortune a second time ; others who were victorious then were now in the list of the vanquished. Lysander took the opportunity to remark how great the cowardice of the Argives must be, who, while they reckoned the presidency at those games so honourable a privilege, did not dare to risk a battle for it. He was, indeed, of opinion, that a moderate regard for this sort of diversions was best, and applied himself to embellish the choirs and public exercises of his own country. When he was at Sparta, he honoured them with his pre-

* There were two expeditions of Agesilaus against Corinth ; Plutarch in this place confounds them ; whereas Xenophon, in his fourth book, has distinguished them very clearly. The enterprise in which Teleutias assisted did not succeed ; for Iphicrates, the Athenian general, kept Corinth and its territories from feeling the effects of Agesilaus's resentment.

sence, and supported them with great zeal and spirit, never missing any of the exercises of the young men or the virgins. As for other entertainments, which were admired by the world, he seemed to disdain them.

One day Callipedes, who had acquired a great reputation among the Greeks as a tragedian, and was universally caressed, approached and paid his respects to him; after which he mixed with a pompous air in his train, expecting he would take some honourable notice of him. At last he said, "Do not you know me, sir?" The king casting his eyes upon him, answered slightly, "Are you not Callipedes the stage-player?" Another time, being asked to go and hear a man who mimicked the nightingale to great perfection, he refused, and said, "I have heard the nightingale herself."

Menecrates the physician, having succeeded in some desperate cases, got the surname of Jupiter. And he was so vain of the appellation, that he made use of it in a letter to the king. "Menecrates Jupiter to king Agesilaus, health." His answer began thus: "King Agesilaus to Menecrates, his senses."

While he was in the territories of Corinth, he took the temple of Juno: and as he stood looking upon the soldiers who were carrying off the prisoners and the spoils, ambassadors came from Thebes with proposals of peace. He had ever hated the city; and now, thinking it necessary to express his contempt for it, he pretended not to see the ambassadors, nor to hear their address, though they were before him. Heaven, however, revenged the affront. Before they were gone, news was brought him, that a battalion of Spartans was cut in pieces by Iphicrates. This was one of the greatest losses his country had sustained for a long time: and beside being deprived of a number of brave men, there was

this mortification, that their heavy-armed soldiers were beaten by the light-armed, and Lacedæmonians

immediately marched to their assistance. Finding it too late, he returned to the temple, and acquainted the Bœotian ambassadors that he was ready to give them audience. Glad at the opportunity to return the insult, they came, but made no mention of the peace. They only desired a safe conduct to Corinth. Agesilaus, provoked at the demand, answered "If you are desirous to see your friends in the elevation of success, to-morrow you shall do it with all the security you can desire." Accordingly, the next day he laid waste the territories of Corinth, and taking them with him, advanced to the very walls. Thus having shown the ambassadors, that the Corinthians did not dare to oppose him, he dismissed them: then he collected such of his countrymen as had escaped in the late action, and marched to Lacedæmon; taking care every day to move before it was light, and to encamp after it was dark, to prevent the insults of the Arcadians, to whose aversion and envy he was no stranger.

After this, to gratify the Achæans*, he led his forces, along with theirs, into Acarnania, where he made an immense booty, and defeated the Acarnanians in a pitched battle. The Achæans desired him to stay till winter, in order to prevent the enemy from sowing their lands. But he said, "The step he should take would be the very reverse; for they

* The Achæans were in possession of Calydon, which before had belonged to the Ætolians. The Acarnanians, now assisted by the Athenians and Bœotians, attempted to make themselves masters of it. But the Achæans applied to the Lacedæmonians for succour, who employed Agesilaus in that business.

Xen. Gr. Hist. book iv.

would be more afraid of war, when they had their fields covered with corn." The event justified his opinion. Next year, as soon as an army appeared upon their borders, they made peace with the Achæans.

When Conon and Pharnabazus, with the Persian fleet, had made themselves masters of the sea, they ravaged the coasts of Lacedonia; and the walls of Athens were rebuilt with the money which Pharnabazus supplied. The Lacedæmonians then thought proper to conclude a peace with the Persians, and sent Antalcidas to make their proposals to Tiribazus. Antalcidas, on this occasion, acted an infamous part to the Greeks in Asia; and delivered up those cities to the king of Persia for whose liberty Agesilaus had fought. No part of the dishonour, indeed, fell upon Agesilaus. Antalcidas was his enemy; and he hastened the peace by all the means he could devise, because he knew the war contributed to the reputation and power of the man he hated. Nevertheless, when Agesilaus was told, "the Lacedæmonians were turning Medes," he said, "No; the Medes are turning Lacedæmonians." And as some of the Greeks were unwilling to be comprehended in the treaty, he forced them to accept the king's terms, by threatening them with war.

His view in this was to weaken the Thebans; for

* The king of Persia's terms were: That the Greek cities in Asia, with the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus, should remain to him; that all the other states, small and great, should be left free, excepting only Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which having been from time immemorial subject to the Athenians, should remain so; and that such as refused to embrace the peace, should be compelled to admit it by force of arms.

XEN. AÆLIAN. lib. v.

This peace of Antalcidas was made in the year before Christ, 337.

It was one of the conditions, that the cities of Boeotia should be free and independent. The subsequent events made the matter very clear. When Phœbidas, in the most unjustifiable manner, had seized the citadel of Cadmea in time of full peace, the Greeks in general expressed their indignation; and many of the Spartans did the same; particularly those who were at variance with Agesilaus. These asked him in an angry tone, "By whose orders Phœbidas had done so unjust a thing?" hoping to bring the blame upon him. He scrupled not to say, in behalf of Phœbidas, "You should examine the tendency of the action; consider whether it is advantageous to Sparta. If its nature is such, it was glorious to do it without any orders." Yet in his discourse he was always magnifying justice, and giving her the first rank among the virtues. "Un-supported by justice," said he, "valour is good for nothing *; and, if all men were just, there would be no need of valour." If any one, in the course of conversation, happened to say, "Such is the pleasure of the great king;" he would answer, "How is he greater than I, if he is not more just?" Which implies a maxim indisputably right, that justice is the royal instrument by which we are to take the different proportions of human excellence.

After the peace was concluded, the king of Persia sent him a letter, whose purport was to propose a private friendship, and the rights of hospitality between them; but he declined it. He said, "The public friendship was sufficient; and while that lasted, there was no need of a private one."

* This is not the only instance, in which we find it was a maxim among the Lacedæmonians, that a man ought to be strictly just in his private capacity, but that he may take what latitude he pleases in a public one, provided his country is a gainer by it.

Yet, he did not regulate his conduct by these honourable sentiments: on the contrary, he was often carried away by his ambition and resentment. Particularly in this affair of the Thebans, he not only screened Phœbidas from punishment, but persuaded the Spartan commonwealth to join in his crime, by holding the Cadmea for themselves, and putting the Theban administration in the hands of Archias and Leontidas, who had betrayed the citadel to Phœbidas. Hence it was natural to suspect, that though Phœbidas was the instrument, the design was formed by Agesilaus, and the subsequent proceedings confirmed it beyond contradiction. For when the Athenians had expelled the garrison *, and restored the Thebans to their liberty, he declared war against the latter for putting to death Archias and Leontidas, whom he called *polemarchs*, but who in fact were tyrants. Cleombrotus †, who upon the death of Agesipolis succeeded to the throne, was sent with an army into Bœotia. For Agesilaus, who was now forty years above the age of puberty, and consequently excused from service by law, was very willing to decline this commission. Indeed, as he had lately made war upon the Phliasians in favour of exiles, he was ashamed now to appear in arms against the Thebans for tyrants.

There was then a Lacedæmonian named Sphodrias, of the party that opposed Agesilaus, lately appointed governor of Thespiæ. He wanted neither courage nor ambition, but he was governed rather by sanguine hopes, than good sense and prudence. This man, fond of a great name, and reflecting how Phœbidas had distinguished himself in the lists of

* See XEN. Grec. Hist. l. v. whence it appears that the Cadmea was recovered by the Athenian forces.

† Cleombrotus was the youngest son of Pausanias, and brother to Agesipolis.

fame by his Theban enterprise, was persuaded it would be a much greater and more glorious performance, if without any directions from his superiors he could seize upon the Piræus, and deprive the Athenians of the empire of the sea, by a sudden attack at land.

It is said, that this was a train laid for him by Pelopidas and Gelon, first magistrates in Bœotia*. They sent persons to him, who pretended to be much in the Spartan interest, and who by magnifying him as the only man fit for such an exploit, worked up his ambition till he undertook a thing equally unjust and detestable with the affair of the Cadmea, but conducted with less valour, and attended with less success. He hoped to have reached the Piræus in the night, but daylight overtook him upon the plains of Thriasia. And we are told, that some light appearing to the soldiers to stream from the temples of Eleusis, they were struck with a religious horror. Sphodrias himself lost his spirit of adventure, when he found his march could no longer be concealed; and having collected some trifling booty, he returned with disgrace to Thebes.

Hereupon, the Athenians sent deputies to Sparta, to complain of Sphodrias; but they found the magistrates had proceeded against him without their complaints, and that he was already under a capital prosecution. He had not dared to appear and take his trial; for he dreaded the rage of his countrymen, who were ashamed of his conduct to the Athenians, and who were willing to resent the injury as done to themselves, rather than have it thought that they had joined in so flagrant an act of injustice.

* They feared the Lacedæmonians were too strong for them, and therefore put Sphodrias upon this act of hostility against the Athenians, in order to draw them into the quarrel.

Sphodrias had a son named Cleonymus, young and handsome, and a particular favourite of Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus. Archidamus, as it is natural to suppose, shared in all the uneasiness of the young man for his father; but he knew not how to appear openly in his behalf, because Sphodrias had been a strong adversary to Agesilaus. However, as Cleonymus applied to him, and entreated him with many tears to intercede with Agesilaus, as the person whom they had most reason to dread, he undertook the commission. Three or four days passed, during which he was restrained by a reverential awe from speaking of the matter to his father; but he followed him up and down in silence. At last, when the day of trial was at hand, he summoned up courage enough to say, Cleonymus was a suppliant to him for his father. Agesilaus, knowing the attachment of his son to that youth, did not lay any injunctions upon him against it. For Cleonymus, from his infancy, had given hopes that he would one day rank with the worthiest men in Sparta. Yet he did not give him room to expect any great favour in this case: he only said, "He would consider what would be the consistent and honourable part for him to act."

Archidamus, therefore, ashamed of the inefficacy of his interposition, discontinued his visits to Cleonymus, though before he used to call upon him many times in a day. Hence the friends of Sphodrias gave up the point for lost; till an intimate acquaintance of Agesilaus, named Etymocles, in a conversation which passed between them, discovered the sentiments of that prince. He told him, "He highly disapproved that attempt of Sphodrias, yet he looked upon him as a brave man, and was sensible that Sparta had occasion for such soldiers as

he." This was the way, indeed, in which Agesilaus constantly spoke of the cause, in order to oblige his son. By this Cleonymus immediately perceived with how much zeal Archidamus had served him; and the friends of Sphodrias appeared with more courage in his behalf. Agesilaus was certainly a most affectionate father. It is said, when his children were small, he would join in their sports; and a friend happening to find him one day riding among them upon a stick, he desired him "not to mention it till he was a father himself."

Sphodrias was acquitted; upon which the Athenians prepared for war. This drew the censures of the world upon Agesilaus, who, to gratify an absurd and childish inclination of his son, obstructed the course of justice, and brought his country under the reproach of such flagrant offences against the Greeks. As he found his colleague Cleombrotus* disinclined to continue the war with the Thebans, he dropped the excuse the law furnished him with, though he had made use of it before, and marched himself into Bœotia. The Thebans suffered much from his operations, and he felt the same from theirs in his turn. So that Antalcidas one day seeing him come off wounded, thus addressed him: "The Thebans pay you well for teaching them to fight, when they had neither inclination nor sufficient skill for it." It is certain the Thebans were at this time much more formidable in the field than they had ever been; after having been trained and exercised in so many wars with the Lacedæmonians. For the same reason their ancient sage, Lycurgus, in one of his three ordinances called *Rhetæ*, forbade them to go to war

* Xenophon says, the Ephori thought Agesilaus, as a more experienced general, would conduct the war better than Cleombrotus. *Tac vider* has nothing to do in the text.

with the same enemy often ; namely, to prevent the enemy from learning their art.

The allies of Sparta likewise complained of Agesilaus, " That it was not in any public quarrel, but from an obstinate spirit of private resentment*, that he sought to destroy the Thebans. For their part, they said, they were wearing themselves out, without any occasion, by going in such numbers upon this or that expedition every year, at the will of a handful of Lacedæmonians." Hereupon, Agesilaus, desirous to show them that the number of their warriors was not so great, ordered all the allies to sit down promiscuously on one side, and all the Lacedæmonians on the other. This done, the cryer summoned the trades to stand up one after another; the potters first, and then the braziers, the carpenters, the masons, in short all the mechanics. Almost all the allies rose up to answer in one branch of business or other, but not one of the Lacedæmonians; for they were forbidden to learn or exercise any manual art. Then Agesilaus smiled and said, " You see my friends, we send more warriors into the field than you."

When he was come as far as Megara, upon his return from Thebes, as he was going up to the senate-house in the citadel†, he was seized with spasms and an acute pain in his right leg. It swelled immediately, the vessels were distended with blood, and there appeared all the signs of a violent inflammation. A Syracusan physician opened a vein below the ancle; upon which the pain abated;

* This private resentment and enmity which Agesilaus entertained against the Thebans, went near to bring ruin both upon himself and his country.

† Xenophon (*Hellen.* 387, 19 Ed. St.) says, it was as he was going from the temple of Venus to the senate-house. ..

but the blood came so fast, that it was not stopped without great difficulty, nor till he fainted away, and his life was in danger. He was carried to Lacedæmon in a weak condition, and continued a long time incapable of service.

In the meantime the Spartans met with several checks both by sea and land. The most considerable loss was at Leuctra*, which was the first pitched battle the Thebans gained against them. Before the last mentioned action, all parties were disposed to peace, and the states of Greece sent their deputies to Lacedæmon to treat of it. Among these was Epaminondas, who was celebrated for his erudition and philosophy, but had as yet given no proofs of his capacity for commanding armies. He saw the other deputies were awed by the presence of Agesilaus, and he was the only one who preserved a proper dignity and freedom both in his manner and his propositions. He made a speech in favour, not only of the Thebans, but of Greece in general; in which he showed that war tended to aggrandise Sparta, at the expense of the other states; and insisted that the peace should be founded upon justice and equality; because then only it would be lasting, when all were put upon an equal footing.

Agesilaus perceiving that the Greeks listened to him with wonder and great attention, asked him, "Whether he thought it just and equitable that the cities of Bœotia should be declared free and independent?" Epaminondas, with great readiness and

* Some manuscripts have it *Tegyra*; but here is no necessity to alter the received reading; though Palmer insists so much upon it. For that of Leuctra was certainly the first pitched battle in which the Thebans defeated the Athenians; and they effected it at the first career. Besides, it appears from Xenophon, (Hellen. 349, 35.) that Agesilaus was not then recovered of the sickness mentioned in the text.

spirit, answered him with another question, "Do you think it reasonable that all the cities of Laconia should be declared independent?" Agesilaus, incensed at this answer, started up, and insisted upon his declaring peremptorily, "Whether he agreed to a perfect independence for Bœotia?" and Epaminondas replied as before, "On condition you put Laconia in the same state." Agesilaus, now exasperated to the last degree, and glad of a pretence against the Thebans, struck their name out of the treaty, and declared war against them upon the spot. After the rest of the deputies had signed such points as they could settle amicably, he dismissed them; leaving others of more difficult nature to be decided by the sword.

As Cleombrotus had then an army in Phocis, the *Ephori* sent him orders to march against the Thebans. At the same time they sent their commissaries to assemble the allies, who were ill inclined to the war, and considered it as a great burden upon them, though they durst not contradict or oppose the Lacedæmonians. Many inauspicious signs and prodigies appeared, as we have observed in the life of Epaminondas; and Protheus * the Spartan opposed the war to the utmost of his power. But Agesilaus could not be driven from his purpose. He prevailed to have hostilities commenced; in hopes, that while the rest of Greece was in a state of freedom, and in

* Protheus proposed that the Spartans should disband their army according to their engagement; that all the states should carry their contributions to the temple of Apollo, to be employed only in making war upon such as should oppose the liberty of the cities. This, he said, would give the cause the sanction of Heaven, and the states of Greece would at all times be ready to embark in it. But the Spartans only laughed at this advice; for, as Xenophon adds, "It looked as if the gods were already urging on the Lacedæmonians to their ruin."

alliance with Sparta, and the Thebans only excepted, he should have an excellent opportunity to chastise them. That the war was undertaken to gratify his resentment, rather than upon rational motives, appears from hence: the treaty was concluded at Lacedæmon on the fourteenth of *June*, and the Lacedæmonians were defeated at Leuctra on the fifth of *July*; which was only twenty days after. A thousand citizens of Lacedæmon were killed there, among whom were their king Cleombrotus and the flower of their army, who fell by his side. The beautiful Cleonymus, the son of Sphodrias, was of the number: he was struck down three several times, as he was fighting in defence of his prince, and rose up as often; and at last was killed with his sword in his hand*.

After the Lacedæmonians had received this unexpected blow, and the Thebans were crowned with more glorious success than Greeks had ever boasted, in a battle with Greeks, the spirit and dignity of the vanquished was, notwithstanding, more to be admired and applauded than that of the conquerors.

* Epaminondas placed his best troops in one wing, and those he least depended on in the other. The former he commanded in person; to the latter he gave directions, that, when they found the enemy's charge too heavy, they should retire leisurely, so as to expose to them a sloping front. Cleombrotus and Archidamus advanced to the charge with great vigour; but, as they pressed on the Theban wing which retired, they gave Epaminondas an opportunity of charging them both in flank and front; which he did with so much bravery that the Spartans began to give way, especially after Cleombrotus was slain, whose dead body, however, they recovered. At length they were totally defeated, chiefly by the skill and conduct of the Theban general. Four thousand Spartans were killed on the field of battle; whereas the Thebans did not lose above three hundred. Such was the fatal battle of Leuctra, wherein the Spartans lost their superiority in Greece, which they had held near five hundred years.

And indeed, if, as Xenophon says, "Men of merit, in their convivial conversations, let fall some expressions that deserve to be remarked and preserved, certainly the noble behaviour and the expressions of such persons, when struggling with adversity, claim our notice much more." When the Spartans received the news of the overthrow at Leuctra, it happened that they were celebrating a festival; and the city was full of strangers; for the troops of young men and maidens were at their exercises in the theatre. The *Ephori*, though they immediately perceived that their affairs were ruined, and that they had lost the empire of Greece, would not suffer the sports to break off, nor any of the ceremonies or decorations of the festival to be omitted; but having sent the names of the killed to their respective families, they stayed to see the exercises, the dances, and all other parts of the exhibition concluded*.

Next morning, the names of the killed, and of those who survived the battle, being perfectly ascertained, the fathers and other relations of the dead appeared in public, and embraced each other with a cheerful air and a generous pride; while the relations of the survivors shut themselves up, as in time of mourning. And if any one was forced to go out upon business, he showed all the tokens of sorrow and humiliation both in his speech and countenance. The difference was still more remarkable among the matrons. They who expected to receive their sons

* But where was the merit of all this? What could such a conduct have for its support but either insensibility or affectation? If they found any reason to rejoice in the glorious deaths of their friends and fellow-citizens, certainly the ruin of the state was an object sufficiently serious to cast them from the pursuits of festivity! But, *Quos Jupiter vult perdere prius dementat*: The infatuation of ambition and jealousy drew upon them the Theban war, and it seemed to last upon them, even when they had felt its fatal consequences.

alive from the battle were melancholy and silent; whereas those who had an account that their sons were slain repaired immediately to the temples to return thanks, and visited each other with all the marks of joy and elevation.

The people, who were now deserted by their allies, and expected that Epaminondas, in the pride of victory, would enter Peloponnesus, called to mind the oracle, which they applied again to the lameness of Agesilaus. The scruples they had on this occasion, discouraged them extremely, and they were afraid the divine displeasure had brought upon them the late calamity for expelling a sound man from the throne, and preferring a lame one, in spite of the extraordinary warnings Heaven had given them against it. Nevertheless, in regard of his virtue, his authority, and renown, they looked upon him as the only man who could retrieve their affairs; for, beside marching them under his banners as their prince and general, they applied to him in every internal disorder of the commonwealth. At present they were at a loss what to do with those who had fled from the battle. The Lacedæmonians call such persons *tresantas* *. In this case they did not choose to set such marks of disgrace upon them as the laws directed, because they were so numerous and powerful, that there was reason to apprehend it might occasion an insurrection: for such persons are not only excluded all offices, but it is infamous to intermarry with them. Any man that meets them is at liberty to strike them. They are obliged to appear in a forlorn manner, and in a vile habit, with patches of divers colours; and to wear their beards half shaved and half unshaved. To put so rigid a law as this in execution, at a time when the offenders were so numerous, and when the commonwealth had

* That is, persons governed by their fears.

so much occasion for soldiers, was both impolitic and dangerous.

In this perplexity they had recourse to Agesilaus, and invested him with new powers of legislation. But he, without making any addition, retrenchment, or change, went into the assembly, and told the Lacedæmonians, "The laws should sleep that day, and resume their authority the day following, and retain it for ever." By this means he preserved to the state its laws entire, as well as the obnoxious persons from infamy. Then, in order to raise the youth out of the depression and melancholy under which they laboured, he entered Arcadia at the head of them. He avoided a battle, indeed, with great care, but he took a little town of the Mantineans, and ravaged the flat country. This restored Sparta to her spirits in some degree, and gave her reason to hope that she was not absolutely lost.

Soon after this, Epaminoudas and his allies entered Laconia. His infantry amounted to forty thousand men, exclusive of the light-armed, and those who, without arms, followed only for plunder. For, if the whole were reckoned, there were not fewer than seventy thousand that poured into that country: Full six hundred years were elapsed since the first establishment of the Dorians in Lacedæmon, and this was the first time, in all that long period, they had seen an enemy in their territories; none ever dared to set foot in them before. But now a new scene of hostilities appeared; the confederates advanced without resistance, laying all waste with fire and sword, as far as the Eurotas, and the very suburbs of Sparta. For, as Theopompus informs us, Agesilaus would not suffer the Lacedæmonians to engage with such an impetuous torrent of war. He contented himself with placing his best infantry in the middle of the city, and other important posts;

and bore the menaces and insults of the Thebans, who called him out by name, as the firebrand which had lighted up the war, and bade him fight for his country, upon which he had brought so many misfortunes.

Agésilas was equally disturbed at the tumult and disorder within the city, the outcries of the old men, who moved backwards and forwards, expressing their grief and indignation, and the wild behaviour of the women, who were terrified even to madness at the shouts of the enemy, and the flames which ascended around them. He was in pain, too, for his reputation. Sparta was a great and powerful state at his accession, and he now saw her glory wither, and his own boasts come to nothing. It seems, he had often said, "No Spartan woman ever saw the smoke of an enemy's camp." In like manner, when an Athenian disputed with Antalcidas, on the subject of valour, and said, "We have often driven you from the banks of the Cephissus," Antalcidas answered, "But we never drove you from the banks of the Eurotas." Near akin to this, was the repartee of a Spartan of less note, to a man of Argos, who said, "Many of you sleep on the plains of Argos." The Spartan answered, "But not one of you sleeps on the plains of Lacedæmon."

Some say, Antalcidas was then one of the *Ephori*, and that he conveyed his children to Cythera, in fear that Sparta would be taken. As the enemy prepared to pass the Eurotas, in order to attack the town itself, Agésilas relinquished the other posts, and drew up all his forces on an eminence in the middle of the city. It happened that the river was much swola with the snow which had fallen in great quantities, and the cold was more troublesome to the Thebans than the rapidity of the current; yet Epaminondas forded it at the head of his infantry.

As he was passing it, somebody pointed him out to Agesilaus; who, after having viewed him for some time, only let fall this expression, "O adventurous man!" All the ambition of Epaminondas was to come to an engagement in the city, and to erect a trophy there; but finding he could not draw down Agesilaus from the heights, he decamped, and laid waste the country.

There had long been a disaffected party in Lacedæmon, and now about two hundred of that party leagued together, and seized upon a strong post, called the *Issorium*, in which stood the temple of Diana. The Lacedæmonians wanted to have the place stormed immediately: but Agesilaus, apprehensive of an insurrection in their favour, took his cloak and one servant with him, and told them aloud, "That they had mistaken their orders. I did not order you," said he, "to take post here, nor all in any one place, but some there (pointing to another place), and some in other quarters." When they heard this, they were happy in thinking their design was not discovered; and they came out, and went to several posts as he directed them. At the same time he lodged another corps in the *Issorium*, and took about fifteen of the mutineers, and put them to death in the night.

Soon after this, he discovered another, and much greater conspiracy, of Spartans, who met privately in a house belonging to one of them, to consider of means to change the form of government. It was dangerous either to bring them to a trial in a time of so much trouble, or to let their cabals pass without notice. Agesilaus, therefore, having consulted with the *Ephori*, put them to death without the formality of a trial, though no Spartan had ever suffered in that manner before.

As many of the neighbouring burghers and of the

Helots who were enlisted, slunk away from the town, and deserted to the enemy, and this greatly discouraged his forces, he ordered his servants to go early in the morning to their quarters, and where they found any had deserted, to hide their arms, that their numbers might not be known.

Historians do not agree as to the time when the Thebans quitted Laccnia. Some say the winter soon forced them to retire; the Arcadians being impatient of a campaign at that season, and falling off in a very disorderly manner: others affirm, that the Thebans stayed full three months; in which time they laid waste almost all the country. Theopompus writes, that at the very juncture the governors of Bœotia had sent them orders to return, there came a Spartan, named Phrixus, on the part of Agesilaus, and gave them ten talents to leave Laccnia. So that, according to him, they not only executed all that they intended, but had money from the enemy to defray the expenses of their return. For my part, I cannot conceive how Theopompus came to be acquainted with this particular, which other historians knew nothing of.

It is universally agreed, however, that Agesilaus saved Sparta by controlling his native passions of obstinacy and ambition, and pursuing no measures but what were safe. He could not, indeed, after the late blow, restore her to her former glory and power. As healthy bodies, long accustomed to a strict and regular diet, often find one deviation from that regimen fatal, so one miscarriage brought that flourishing state to decay. Nor is it to be wondered at. Their constitution was admirably formed for peace, for virtue, and harmony; but when they wanted to add to their dominions by force of arms, and to make acquisitions which Lycurgus thought

unnecessary to their happiness, they split upon that rock he had warned them to avoid.

Agésilas now declined the service on account of his great age. But his son Archidamus, having received some succours from Dionysius the Silician tyrant, fought the Arcadians, and gained that which is called *the tearless battle*; for he killed great numbers of the enemy, without losing a man himself.

Nothing could afford a greater proof of the weakness of Sparta than this victory. Before, it had been so common and so natural a thing for Spartans to conquer, that on such occasions they offered no greater sacrifice than a cock; the combatants were not elated, nor those who received the tidings of victory overjoyed. Even when that great battle was fought at Mantinea, which Thucydides has so well described, the *Ephori* presented the person who brought them the first news of their success with nothing but a mess of meat from the public table. But now, when an account of this battle was brought, and Archidamus approached the town, they were not able to contain themselves. First his father advanced to meet him with tears of joy, and after him the magistrates. Multitudes of old men and of women flocked to the river, stretching out their hands, and blessing the gods, as if Sparta had washed off her late unworthy stains, and seen her glory stream out afresh. Till that hour the men were so much ashamed of the loss they had sustained, that, it is said, they could not even carry it with an unembarrassed countenance to the women.

When Epaminondas reestablished Messene, and the ancient inhabitants returned to it from all quarters, the Spartans had not courage to oppose him in the field. But it gave them great concern, and they could not look upon Agésilas without anger, when

they considered that in his reign they had lost a country full as extensive as Laconia, and superior in fertility to all the provinces of Greece; a country whose revenues they had long called their own. For this reason, Agesilaus rejected the peace which the Thebans offered him; not choosing formally to give up to them what they were in fact possessed of. But while he was contending for what he could not recover, he was near losing Sparta itself, through the superior generalship of his adversary. The Mantineans had separated again from their alliance with Thebes, and called in the Lacedæmonians to their assistance. Epaminondas being apprised that Agesilaus was upon his march to Mantinea, decamped from Tegea in the night, unknown to the Mantineans, and took a different road to Lacedæmon, from that Agesilaus was upon; so that nothing was more likely than that he would have come upon the city in this defenceless state, and have taken it with ease. But Euthynus, of Thespiae, as Callisthenes relates it, or some Cretan, according to Xenophon, informed Agesilaus of the design, who sent a horseman to alarm the city, and not long after entered it himself.

In a little time the Thebans passed the Eurotas, and attacked the town. Agesilaus defended it with a vigour above his years. He saw that this was not the time (as it had been) for safe and cautious measures, but rather for the boldest and most desperate efforts; insomuch that the means in which he had never before placed any confidence, or made the least use of, staved off the present danger, and snatched the town out of the hands of Epaminondas. He erected a trophy upon the occasion, and showed the children and the women how gloriously the Spartans rewarded their country for their education. Archidamus greatly distinguished himself that day, both by his courage and agility, flying through the

by-lanes, to meet the enemy where they pressed the hardest, and every where repulsing them with his little band.

But Isadus, the son of Phœbidas, was the most extraordinary and striking spectacle, not only to his countrymen, but to the enemy. He was tall and beautiful in his person, and just growing from a boy into a man, which is the time the human flower has the greatest charm. He was without either arms or clothes, naked and newly anointed with oil; only he had a spear in one hand and a sword in the other. In this condition he rushed out of his house, and having made his way through the combatants, he dealt his deadly blows among the enemy's ranks, striking down every man he engaged with. Yet he received not one wound himself; whether it was that Heaven preserved him in regard to his valour, or whether he appeared to his adversaries as something more than human. It is said, the *Ephori* honoured him with a chaplet for the great things he had performed, but, at the same time, fined him a thousand drachmas for daring to appear without his armour.

Some days after this there was another battle before Mantinea. Epaminondas, after having routed the first battalions, was very eager in the pursuit; when a Spartan, named Anticrates, turned short, and gave him a wound with a spear, according to Dioscorides, or, as others say, with a sword*. And, indeed, the descendants of Anticrates are to this day called *machariones*, swordsmen, in Lacedæmon. This action appeared so great, and was so acceptable to the Spartans, on account of their fear of Epaminondas, that they decreed great honours and rewards to Anticrates, and an exemption from taxes to his

* Diodorus Siculus attributes this action to Grillus, the son of Xenophon, who, he says, was killed immediately after. But Plutarch's account seems better grounded.

posterity; one of which, named Callicrates*, now enjoys that privilege.

After this battle, and the death of Epaminondas, the Greeks concluded a peace. But Agesilaus, under pretence that the Messenians were not a state, insisted that they should not be comprehended in the treaty. All the rest, however, admitted them to take the oath, as one of the states; and the Lacedæmonians withdrew, intending to continue the war, in hopes of recovering Messenia. Agesilaus could not, therefore, be considered but as violent and obstinate in his temper, and insatiably fond of hostilities, since he took every method to obstruct the general peace, and to protract the war; though at the same time, through want of money, he was forced to borrow of his friends, and to demand unreasonable subsidies of the people. This was at a time, too, when he had the fairest opportunity to extricate himself from all his distresses. Besides, after he had let slip the power, which never before was at such a height, lost so many cities, and seen his country deprived of the superiority both at sea and land, should he have wrangled about the property and the revenues of Messene?

He still lost more reputation by taking a command under Tachos, the Egyptian chief. It was not thought suitable to one of the greatest characters in Greece, a man who had filled the whole world with his renown, to hire out his person, to give his name and his interest for a pecuniary consideration, and to act as captain of a band of mercenaries, for a barbarian, a rebel against the king his master. Had he, now he was upwards of eighty, and his body full of wounds and scars, accepted again of the appointment of captain-general, to fight

* Near five hundred years after.

for the liberties of Greece, his ambition, at that time of day, would not have been entirely unexceptionable. For even honourable pursuits must have their times and seasons to give them a propriety; or rather propriety, and the availing of all extremes, is the characteristic which distinguishes honourable pursuits from the dishonourable. But Agesilaus was not moved by this consideration, nor did he think any public service unworthy of him; he thought it much more unbecoming to lead an inactive life at home, and to sit down and wait till death should strike his blow. He therefore raised a body of mercenaries, and fitted out a fleet, with the money which Tachos had sent him, and then set sail; taking with him thirty Spartans for his counsellors, as formerly.

Upon his arrival in Ægypt, all the great officers of the kingdom came immediately to pay their court to him. Indeed, the name and character of Agesilaus had raised great expectations in the Egyptians in general, and they crowded to the shore to get a sight of him. But when they beheld no pomp or grandeur of appearance, and saw only a little old man, and in as mean attire, seated on the grass by the seaside, they could not help regarding the thing in a ridiculous light, and observing, that this was the very thing represented in the fable*, "The mountain had brought forth a mouse." They were still more surprised at his want of politeness, when they brought him such presents as were commonly made to strangers of distinction, and he took only the flour, the veal, and the geese, and refused the pasties, the sweetmeats, and perfumes; and when they pressed him to accept them, he said, "They might carry them to the *Helots*." Theophrastus tells us, he was pleased with the papyrus,

* Athenæus makes Tachos say this, and Agesilaus answer, "You will find the *Helots* by and by."

on account of its thin and pliant texture, which made it very proper for chaplets; and, when he left Egypt, he asked the king for some of his.

Tachos was preparing for the war; and Agesilaus, upon joining him, was greatly disappointed to find he had not the command of all the forces given him, but only that of the mercenaries. Chabrias, the Athenian, was appointed. Tachos, however, reserved to himself the chief direction, both at sea and land. This was the first disagreeable circumstance that occurred to Agesilaus; and others soon followed. The vanity and insolence of the Egyptian gave him great pain, but he was forced to bear them. He consented to sail with him against the Phœnicians; and, contrary to his dignity and nature, submitted to the barbarian, till he could find an opportunity to shake off his yoke. That opportunity soon presented itself. Nectanabis, cousin to Tachos, who commanded part of the forces, revolted, and was proclaimed king by the Egyptians.

In consequence of this, Nectanabis sent ambassadors to Agesilaus, to entreat his assistance. He made the same application to Chabrias, and promised them both great rewards. Tachos was apprised of these proceedings, and begged of them not to abandon him. Chabrias listened to his request, and endeavoured also to appease the resentment of Agesilaus, and keep him to the cause he had embarked in. Agesilaus answered, "As for you, Chabrias, you came hither as a volunteer, and, therefore, may act as you think proper; but I was sent by my country, upon the application of the Egyptians, for a general. It would not then be right to commence hostilities against the people, to whom I was sent as an assistant, except Sparta should give me such orders." At the same time he sent some of his officers home, with instructions to accuse Tachos, and

to defend the cause of ~~Nectanabis~~. The two rival kings also applied to the Lacedæmonians; the one as an ancient friend, and the other as one who had a greater regard to Sparta, and would give her more valuable proofs of his attachment.

The Lacedæmonians gave the Egyptian deputies the hearing, and this public answer, "That they should leave the business to the care of Agesilaus." But their private instructions to him were, "to do what should appear most advantageous to Sparta." Agesilaus had no sooner received this order, than he withdrew with his mercenaries, and went over to Nectanabis; covering this strange and scandalous proceeding with the pretence of acting in the best manner for his country*: when that slight veil is taken off, its right name is treachery, and base desertion. It is true, the Lacedæmonians by placing a regard to the advantage of their country, in the first rank of honour and virtue, left themselves no criterion of justice, but the aggrandisement of Sparta.

Tachos, thus abandoned by the mercenaries, took to flight. But, at the same time, there rose up in Mendes another competitor, to dispute the crown with Nectanabis; and that competitor advanced with a hundred thousand men, whom he had soon assembled. Nectanabis, to encourage Agesilaus, represented to him, that though the numbers of the enemy were great, they were only a mixed multitude, and many

* Xenophon has succeeded well enough in defending Agesilaus with respect to his undertaking the expeditions into Egypt. He represents him pleased with the hopes of making Tachos some return for his many services to the Lacedæmonians; of restoring, through his means, the Greek cities in Asia to their liberty, and of revenging the ill offices done the Spartans by the king of Persia. But it was in vain for that historian to attempt to exculpate him, with respect to his deserting Tachos, which Plutarch justly treats as an act of treachery.

of them mechanics, and they were to be despised for their utter ignorance of war. "It is not their numbers," said Agesilaus, "that I fear, but that ignorance and inexperience, which renders them incapable of being deceived upon by art or stratagem: for those can only be exercised with success upon such as, having skill enough to suspect the designs of their enemy, form schemes to countermine him, and, in the mean time, are caught by new contrivances. But he who has neither expectation nor suspicion of that sort, gives his adversary no more opportunity than he who stands still gives to a wrestler."

Soon after the adventurer of Mendes sent persons to sound Agesilaus. This alarmed Nectanabis: and when Agesilaus advised him to give battle immediately, and not to protract the war with men who had seen no service, but who, by the advantage of numbers, might draw a line of circumvallation about his trenches, and prevent him in most of his operations; then his fears and suspicions increased, and put him upon the expedient of retiring into a large and well fortified town. Agesilaus could not well digest this instance of distrust; yet he was ashamed to change sides again, and at last return without effecting any thing. He therefore followed his standard, and entered the town with him.

However, when the enemy came up, and began to open their trenches, in order to enclose him, the Egyptian, afraid of a siege, was inclined to come immediately to an engagement; and the Greeks were of his opinion, because there was no great quantity of provisions in the place. But Agesilaus opposed it; and the Egyptians, on that account, looked upon him in a worse light than before, not scrupling to call him a traitor to their king. These censures he now bore with patience, because he was

waiting a favourable moment for putting in execution a design he had formed.

The design was this: the enemy, as we have observed, were drawing a deep trench round the walls, with an intent to shut up Nectanabis. When they had proceeded so far in the work that the two ends were almost ready to meet, as soon as night came on, Agesilaus ordered the Greeks to arm, and then went to the Egyptian, and said, "Now is the time, young man, for you to save yourself, which I did not choose to speak of sooner, lest it should be divulged and lost. The enemy with their own hands have worked out your security, by labouring so long upon the trench, that the part which is finished will prevent our suffering by their numbers, and the space which is left puts it in our power to fight them upon equal terms. Come on then; now show your courage; sally out along with us, with the utmost vigour, and save both yourself and your army. The enemy will not dare to stand us in front, and our flanks are secured by the trench." Nectanabis now, admiring his capacity, put himself in the middle of the Greeks, and, advancing to the charge, easily routed all that opposed him.

Agesilaus having thus gained the prince's confidence, availed himself once more of the same stratagem, as a wrestler sometimes uses the same slight twice in one day. By sometimes pretending to fly, and sometimes facing about, he drew the enemy's whole army into a narrow place, enclosed with two ditches that were very deep, and full of water. When he saw them thus entangled, he advanced to the charge, with a front equal to theirs, and secured by the nature of the ground against being surrounded. The consequence was, that they made but little resistance: numbers were killed, and the rest fled; and were entirely put to the rout.

The Egyptian, thus successful in his affairs, and firmly established in his kingdom, had a grateful sense of the services of Agesilaus, and pressed him to spend the winter with him. But he hastened his return to Sparta, on account of the war she had upon her hands at home; for he knew that her finances were low, though, at the same time, she found it necessary to employ a body of mercenaries. Nectanabis dismissed him with great marks of honour, and, besides other presents, furnished him with two hundred and thirty talents of silver, for the expenses of the Grecian war. But, as it was winter, he met with a storm which drove him upon a desert shore in Africa, called the *Haven of Menelaus*; and there he died, at the age of eighty-four years; of which he had reigned forty-one in Lacedæmon. Above thirty years of that time he made the greatest figure, both as to reputation and power, being looked upon as commander in chief, and, as it were, king of Greece, till the battle of Leuctra.

It was the custom of the Spartans to bury persons of ordinary rank in the place where they expired, when they happened to die in a foreign country, but to carry the corpses of their kings home. And as the attendants of Agesilaus had not honey to preserve the body, they embalmed it with melted wax, and so conveyed it to Lacedæmon. His son Archidamus succeeded to the crown, which descended in his family to Agis, the fifth from Agesilaus. This Agis, the third of that name, was assassinated by Leonidas, for attempting to restore the ancient discipline of Sparta.

POMPEY.

~~THE~~ people of Rome appear, from the first, to have been affected towards Pompey, much in the same manner as Prometheus, in Æschylus, was towards Hercules, when after that hero had delivered him from his chains, he says,

The sire I hated, but the son I love *.

For never did the Romans entertain a stronger and more rancorous hatred for any general than for Strabo, the father of Pompey. While he lived, indeed, they were afraid of his abilities as a soldier, for he had great talents for war; but upon his death, which happened by a stroke of lightning, they dragged his corpse from the bier, on the way to the funeral pile, and treated it with the greatest indignity. On the other hand, no man ever experienced ~~from~~ the same Romans an attachment more early begun, more disinterested in all the stages of his prosperity, or more constant and faithful in the decline of his fortune, than Pompey.

The sole cause of their aversion to the father was his insatiable avarice; but there were many causes of their affection for the son; his temperate way of living, his application to martial exercises, his eloquent and persuasive address, his strict honour and fidelity, and the easiness of access to him upon all occasions; for no man was ever less importunate in asking favours, or more gracious in conferring them. When he gave, it was without arrogance; and when he received, it was with dignity.

* Of the tragedy of *Prometheus released*, from which this line is taken, we have only some fragments remaining. Jupiter had chained Prometheus to the rocks of Caucasus, and Hercules, the son of Jupiter, released him.

In his youth he had a very engaging countenance, which spoke for him before he opened his lips. Yet that grace of aspect was not unattended with dignity, and amidst his youthful bloom there was a venerable and princely air. His hair naturally curled a little before; which, together with the shining moisture and quick turn of his eye, produced a stronger likeness of Alexander the Great than that which appeared in the statues of that prince. So that some seriously gave him the name of Alexander, and he did not refuse it; others applied it to him by way of ridicule. And Lucius Philippus*, a man of consular dignity, as he was one day pleading for him said, "It was no wonder if Philip was a lover of Alexander."

We are told that Flora, the courtesan, took a pleasure, in her old age, in speaking of the commerce she had with Pompey; and she used to say, she could never quit his embraces without giving him a bite. She added, that Geminus, one of Pompey's acquaintance, had a passion for her, and gave her much trouble with his solicitations. At last, she told him, she could not consent on account of Pompey. Upon which he applied to Pompey for his permission, and he gave it him, but never approached her afterwards, though he seemed to retain a regard for her. She bore the loss of him, not with the slight uneasiness of a prostitute, but was long sick through sorrow and regret. It is said that Flora was so celebrated for her beauty and fine bloom that when Cæcilius Metellus adorned the temple of Castor and Pollux with statues and paintings, he gave her picture a place among them.

Demetrius, one of Pompey's freedmen. who had

* Lucius Marcus Philippus, one of the greatest orators of his time. He was father-in-law to Augustus, having married his mother Attia. Horace speaks of him, lib. i. ep. 7.

great interest with him, and who died worth four thousand talents, had a wife of irresistible beauty. Pompey, on that account, behaved to her with less politeness than was natural to him, that he might not appear to be caught by her charms. But though he took his measures with so much care and caution in this respect, he could not escape the censure of his enemies, who accused him of a commerce with married women, and said he often neglected, or gave up points essential to the public, to gratify his mistresses.

As to the simplicity of his diet, there is a remarkable saying of his upon record. In a great illness, when his appetite was almost gone, the physician ordered him a thrush. His servants, upon inquiry, found there was not one to be had for money, for the season was past. They were informed, however, that Lucullus had them all the year in his menageries. This being reported to Pompey, he said, "Does Pompey's life depend upon the luxury of Lucullus?" Then, without any regard to the physician, he eat something that was easy to be had. But this happened at a later period in life.

While he was very young, and served under his father, who was carrying on the war against Cinna*, one Lucius Terentius was his comrade, and they slept in the same tent. This Terentius, gained by Cinna's money, undertook to assassinate Pompey, while others set fire to the general's tent. Pompey got information of this when he was at supper, and it did not put him in the least confusion. He drank wine, and caressed Terentius more than usual; when he was to have gone to rest, he stole away, and went and planted a guard about

the city of Rome 666. And as Pompey was born 685, and Cicero, viz. in the year of Rome 647, he must, in the war with Cinna, have been nineteen years old.

his father. This done, he waited quietly for the event. Terentius, as soon as he thought Pompey was asleep, drew his sword, and stabbed the coverlets of the bed in many places, imagining that he was in it.

Immediately after this, there was a great mutiny in the camp. The soldiers, who hated their general, were determined to go over to the enemy, and began to strike their tents and take up their arms. The general, dreading the tumult, did not dare to make his appearance. But Pompey was every where; he begged of them with tears to stay, and at last threw himself upon his face in the gateway. There he lay weeping, and bidding them, if they would go out, tread upon him. Upon this, they were ashamed to proceed, and all, except eight hundred, returned and reconciled themselves to their general.

After the death of Strabo, a charge was laid that he had converted the public money to his own use, and Pompey, as his heir, was obliged to answer it. Upon inquiry, he found that Alexander, one of the enfranchised slaves, had secreted most of the money; and he took care to inform the magistrates of the particulars. He was accused, however, himself, of having taken some hunting-nets and books out of the spoils of Asculum; and, it is true, his father gave them to him when he took the place; but he lost them at the return of Cinna to Rome, when that general's creatures broke into his house and pillaged his house. In this affair he maintained himself well with his adversary at the bar, and showed an acuteness and firmness which gained him so much applause, that the prætor, who had the hearing, conceived an affection for him, and

daughter in marriage. The proposal accordingly was made to his friends. Pompey accepted it; and the treaty was concluded privately. The people, however, had some notion of the thing from the pains which Antistius took for Pompey; and at last, when he pronounced the sentence, in the name of all the judges, by which Pompey was acquitted, the multitude, as it were, upon a signal given, broke out in the old marriage acclamation of *Talasio*.

The origin of the term is said to have been this. When the principal Romans seized the daughters of the Sabines, who were come to see the games they were celebrating to entrap them, some herdsmen and shepherds laid hold of a virgin remarkably tall and handsome; and, lest she should be taken from them, as they carried her off, they cried all the way they went, *Talasio*. Talasius was a young man, universally beloved and admired; therefore all who heard them, delighted with the intention, joined in the cry, and accompanied them with plaudits. They tell us, the marriage of Talasius proved fortunate, and thence all bridegrooms, by way of mirth, were welcomed with that acclamation. This is the most probable account I can find of the term*.

Pompey in a little time married Antistia; and afterwards repaired to Cinna's camp. But finding some unjust charges laid against him there, he took the first private opportunity to withdraw. As he was no where to be found, a rumour prevailed in the army, that Cinna had put the young man to death: Upon which, numbers who hated Cinna, and could no longer bear with his cruelties, attacked his quarters. He fled for his life; and being overtaken by one of the inferior officers, who pursued him with a

* See more of this in the life of Romulus.

drawn sword, he fell upon his knees, and offered him his ring, which was of no small value. The officer answered, with great ferocity, "I am not come to sign a contract, but to punish an impious and lawless tyrant," and then killed him upon the spot.

Such was the end of Cinna; after whom Carbo, a tyrant still more savage, took the reins of government. It was not long, however, before Sylla returned to Italy, to the great satisfaction of most of the Romans, who, in their present unhappy circumstances, thought the change of their master no small advantage. To such a desperate state had their calamities brought them, that no longer hoping for liberty, they sought only the most tolerable servitude.

At that time Pompey was in the Picene, whither he had retired, partly because he had lands there, but more on account of an old attachment which the cities in that district had to his family. As he observed that the best and most considerable of the citizens left their houses, and took refuge in Sylla's camp as in a port, he resolved to do the same. At the same time he thought it did not become him to go like a fugitive who wanted protection, but rather in a respectable manner at the head of an army. He therefore tried what levies he could make in the Picene*, and the people readily repaired to his standard; rejecting the applications of Carbo. On this occasion, one Vindius happening to say, "Pompey is just come from under the hands of the pedagogue, and all on a sudden is become a demagogue among you," they were so provoked, that they fell upon him and cut him in pieces.

Thus Pompey, at the age of twenty-three, with-

* Now the March of Ancona.

out a commission from any superior authority, erected himself into a general; and having placed his tribunal in the most public part of the great city of Auximum, by a formal decree commanded the Ventidii, two brothers who opposed him in behalf of Carbo, to depart the city. He enlisted soldiers; he appointed tribunes, centurions, and other officers, according to the established custom. He did the same in all the neighbouring cities; for the partisans of Carbo retired and gave place to him, and the rest were glad to range themselves under his banners. So that in a little time he raised three complete legions, and furnished himself with provisions, beasts of burden, carriages; in short, with the whole apparatus of war.

In this form he moved towards Sylla, not by hasty marches, nor as if he wanted to conceal himself; for he stopped by the way to harass the enemy, and attempted to draw off from Carbo all the parts of Italy through which he passed. At last, three generals of the opposite party, Carinna, Cœlius, and Brutus, came against him all at once, not in front, or in one body, but they hemmed him in with their three armies, in hopes to demolish him entirely.

Pompey, far from being terrified, assembled all his forces, and charged the army of Brutus at the head of his cavalry. The Gaulish horse on the enemy's side sustained the first shock; but Pompey attacked the foremost of them, who was a man of prodigious strength, and brought him down with a push of his spear. The rest immediately fled, and threw the infantry into such disorder that the whole was soon put to flight. This produced so great a quarrel among the three generals, that they parted, and took separate routes. In consequence of which,

the cities, concluding that the fears of the enemy had made them part, adopted the interest of Pompey.

Not long after, Scipio the consul advanced to engage him. But before the infantry were near enough to discharge their lances, Scipio's soldiers saluted those of Pompey, and came over to them. Scipio, therefore, was forced to fly. At last Carbo sent a large body of cavalry against Pompey, near the river Arsis. He gave them so warm a reception, that they were soon broken, and in the pursuit drove them upon impracticable ground ; so that finding it impossible to escape, they surrendered themselves with their arms and horses.

Sylla had not yet been informed of these transactions ; but upon the first news of Pompey's being engaged with so many adversaries, and such ~~a~~ respectable generals, he dreaded the consequence, and marched with all expedition to his assistance. Pompey, having intelligence of his approach, ordered his officers to see that the troops were armed and drawn up in such a manner as to make the handsomest and most gallant appearance before the commander in chief. For he expected great honours from him, and he obtained greater. Sylla no sooner saw Pompey advancing to meet him, with an army in excellent condition, both as to age and size of the men, and the spirits which success had given them, than he alighted ; and upon being saluted of course by Pompey as *imperator*, he returned his salutation with the same title : though no one imagined that he would have honoured a young man, not yet admitted into the senate, with a title for which he was contending with the Scipios and the Marii. The rest of his behaviour was as respectable as that in the first interview. He used to rise up and uncover his head, whenever Pompey came to him ; which he

was rarely observed to do for any other, though he had a number of persons of distinction about him.

Pompey was not elated with these honours. On the contrary, when Sylla wanted to send him into Gaul, where Metellus had done nothing worthy of the forces under his directions, he said, "It was not right to take the command from a man who was his superior both in age and character; but if Metellus should desire his assistance in the conduct of the war, it was at his service." Metellus accepted the proposal, and wrote to him to come; whereupon he entered Gaul, and not only signalized his own valour and capacity, but excited once more the spirit of adventure in Metellus, which was almost extinguished with age: just as brass in a state of fusion is said to melt a cold plate sooner than fire itself. But as it is not usual, when a champion has distinguished himself in the lists, and gained the prize in all the games, to record or to take any notice of the performances of his younger years; so the actions of Pompey, in this period, though extraordinary in themselves, yet being eclipsed by the number and importance of his later expeditions, I shall forbear to mention, lest, by dwelling upon his first essays, I should not leave myself room for those greater and more critical events which mark his character and turn of mind.

After Sylla had made himself master of Italy, and was declared dictator, he rewarded his principal officers with riches and honours; making them liberal grants of whatever they applied for. But he was most struck with the excellent qualities of Pompey, and was persuaded that he owed more to his services than those of any other man. He therefore resolved, if possible, to take him into his alliance; and, as his wife Metella was perfectly of

his opinion, they persuaded Pompey to divorce Antistia, and to marry Emilia, the daughter-in-law of Sylla, whom Metella had by Scantus, and who was at that time pregnant by another marriage.

Nothing could be more tyrannical than this new contract. It was suitable, indeed, to the times of Sylla, but it ill became the character of Pompey to take Emilia, pregnant as she was, from another, and bring her into his house, and at the same time to repudiate Antistia, distressed as she must be for a father whom she had lately lost on account of this cruel husband. For Antistius was killed in the senate-house, because it was thought his regard for Pompey had attached him to the cause of Sylla. And her mother, upon this divorce, laid violent hands upon herself. This was an additional scene of misery in that tragical marriage; as was also the fate of Emilia in Pompey's house, who died in childbed.

Soon after this, Sylla received an account that Perpenna had made himself master of Sicily, where he afforded an asylum to the party which opposed the reigning powers. Carbo was hovering with a fleet about that island; Domitius had entered Africa; and many other persons of great distinction, who had escaped the fury of the proscriptions by flight, had taken refuge there. Pompey was sent against them with a considerable armament. He soon forced Perpenna to quit the island; and having recovered the cities, which had been much harassed by the armies that were there before him, he behaved to them all with great humanity, except the Mamertines, who were seated in Messina. That people had refused to appear before his tribunal, and to acknowledge his jurisdiction, alleging, that they stood excused by an ancient privilege granted to them by the Romans. He answered, "Will

you never have done with citing laws and privileges to men who wear swords.” His behaviour, too, to Carbo, in his misfortune, appeared inhuman. For, if it was necessary, as perhaps it was, to put him to death, he should have done it immediately, and then it would have been the work of him that gave orders for it. But, instead of that, he caused a Roman, who had been honoured with three consulships, to be brought in chains before his tribunal, where he sat in judgment on him; to the regret of all the spectators, and ordered him to be led off to execution. When they were carrying him off, and he beheld the sword drawn, he was so much disordered at it, that he was forced to beg a moment’s respite, and a private place for the necessities of nature.

Caius Oppius*, the friend of Cæsar, writes, that Pompey likewise treated Quintus Valerius with inhumanity.—For, knowing him to be a man of letters, and that few were to be compared to him in point of knowledge, he took him (he says) aside, and after he had walked with him till he had satisfied himself upon several points of learning, commanded his servants to take him to the block. But we must be very cautious how we give credit to Oppius, when he speaks of the friends and enemies of Cæsar. Pompey, indeed, was under the necessity of punishing the principal enemies of Sylla, particularly when they were taken publicly. But others he suffered to escape, and even assisted some in getting off.

He had resolved to chastise the Himeræans for attempting to support his enemies, when the orator Sthenis told him, “He would act unjustly, if he

* The same who wrote an account of the Spanish war. He was also a biographer; but his works of that kind are lost. He was mean enough to write a treatise to show that Cæsar was not the son of Cæsar.

passed by the person that was guilty, and punished the innocent." Pompey asked him, "Who was the guilty person?" and he answered, "I am the man. I persuaded my friends, and compelled my enemies, to take the measures they did." Pompey delighted with his frank confession and noble spirit, forgave him first, and afterwards all the people of Himera. Being informed that his soldiers committed great disorders in their excursions, he sealed up their swords, and if any of them broke the seal, he took care to have them punished.

While he was making these and other regulations in Sicily, he received a decree of the senate, and letters from Sylla, in which he was commanded to cross over to Africa and to carry on the war with the utmost vigour, against Domitius, who had assembled a much more powerful army than that which Marius carried not long before from Africa to Italy, when he made himself master of Rome, and of a fugitive became a tyrant. Pompey soon finished his preparations for this expedition; and leaving the command in Sicily to Memmius, his sister's husband, he set sail with a hundred and twenty armed vessels, and eight hundred storeships, laden with provisions, arms, money, and machines of war. Part of his fleet landed at Utica, and part at Carthage: immediately after which seven thousand of the enemy came over to him; and he had brought with him six legions complete.

On his arrival, he met with a whimsical adventure. Some of his soldiers, it seems, found a treasure, and shared considerable sums. The thing getting air, the rest of the troops concluded, that the place was full of money, which the Carthaginians had hid there in some time of public distress. Pompey, therefore, could make no use of them for several days, as they were searching for treasures; and he had nothing to

do but walk about and amuse himself with the sight of so many thousands digging and turning up the ground. At last, they gave up the point, and bade him lead them where ever he pleased, for they were sufficiently punished for their folly.

Domitius advanced to meet him, and put his troops in order of battle. There happened to be a channel between them, craggy and difficult to pass. In the morning it began, moreover, to rain, and the wind blew violently; insomuch that Domitius, not imagining there would be any action that day, ordered his army to retire. But Pompey looked upon this as his opportunity, and he passed the defile with the utmost expedition. The enemy stood upon their defence, but it was in a disorderly and tumultuous manner, and the resistance they made was neither general nor uniform. Besides, the wind and rain beat in their faces. The storm incommoded the Romans too, for they could not well distinguish each other. Nay, Pompey himself was in danger of being killed by a soldier, who asked him the word, and received not a speedy answer.—At length, however, he routed the enemy with great slaughter; not above three thousand of them escaping out of twenty thousand. The soldiers then saluted Pompey *imperator*, but he said he would not accept that title while the enemy's camp stood untouched; therefore, if they chose to confer such an honour upon him, they must first make themselves masters of the entrenchments.

At that instant they advanced with great fury against them. Pompey fought without his helmet, for fear of such an accident as he had just escaped. The camp was taken, and Domitius slain; in consequence of which most of the cities immediately submitted, and the rest were taken by assault. He took Jarbas, one of the confederates of Domitius,

prisoner, and bestowed his crown on Hiempsal. Advancing with the same tide of fortune, and while his army had all the spirits inspired by success, he entered Numidia, in which he continued his march for several days, and subdued all that came in his way. Thus he revived the terror of the Roman name, which the barbarians had begun to disregard. Nay, he chose not to leave the savage beasts in the deserts without giving them a specimen of the Roman valour and success. Accordingly he spent a few days in hunting lions and elephants. The whole time he passed in Africa, they tell us, was not above forty days; in which he defeated the enemy, reduced the whole country, and brought the affairs of its kings under proper regulations, though he was only in his twenty-fourth year.

Upon his return to Utica, he received letters from Sylla, in which he was ordered to send home the rest of his army, and to wait there with one legion only for a successor. This gave him a great deal of uneasiness, which he kept to himself, but the army expressed their indignation aloud; insomuch that when he intreated them to return to Italy, they launched out into abusive terms against Sylla, and declared they would never abandon Pompey, or suffer him to trust a tyrant. At first he endeavoured to pacify them with mild representations: and when he found those had no effect, he descended from the tribunal, and retired to his tent in tears. However, they went and took him thence, and placed him again upon the tribunal, where they spent great part of the day; they insisting that he should stay and keep the command, and he in persuading them to obey Sylla's orders, and to form no new faction. At last, seeing no end of their clamours and importunity, he assured them, with an oath, "That he would kill

himself, if they attempted to force him." And even this hardly brought them to desist.

The first news that Sylla heard was, that Pompey had revolted; upon which he said to his friends, "Then it is my fate to have to contend with boys in my old age." This he said because Marius, who was very young, had brought him into so much trouble and danger. But when he received true information of the affair, and observed that all the people flocked out to receive him, and to conduct him home with marks of great regard, he resolved to exceed them in his regards, if possible. He, therefore, hastened to meet him, and embracing him in the most affectionate manner, saluted him aloud by the surname of *Magnus*, or *the Great*: at the same time he ordered all about him to give him the same appellation. Others say, it was given him by the whole army in Africa, but did not generally obtain till it was authorized by Sylla. It is certain, he was the last to take it himself, and he did not make use of it till a long time after, when he was sent into Spain with the dignity of proconsul against Sertorius. Then he began to write himself in his letters and in all his edicts, *Pompey the Great*; for the world was accustomed to the name, and it was no longer invidious. In this respect we may justly admire the wisdom of the ancient Romans, who bestowed on their great men such honourable names and titles, not only for military achievements, but for the great qualities and arts which adorn civil life. Thus the people gave the surname of *Maximus* to Valerius*, for reconciling them to the senate after a violent dissension, and to Fabius Rullus for expelling some persons descended of enfranchised slaves†, who had been ad-

* This was Marcus Valerius, the brother of Valerius Publicola, who was dictator.

† It was not his expelling the descendants of enfranchised

mitted into the senate on account of their opulent fortunes.

When Pompey arrived at Rome, he demanded a triumph, in which he was opposed by Sylla. The latter alleged, "That the laws did not allow that honour to any person who was not either consul or prætor*." Hence it was that the first Scipio, when he returned victorious from greater wars and conflicts with the Carthaginians in Spain, did not demand a triumph; for he was neither consul nor prætor." He added, "That if Pompey, who was yet little better than a beardless youth, and who was not of age to be admitted into the senate, should enter the city in triumph, it would bring an *odium* both upon the dictator's power, and those honours of his friend." These arguments Sylla insisted on, to show him he would not allow of his triumph, and that, in case he persisted, he would chastise his obstinacy.

Pompey, not in the least intimidated, bade him consider, "That more worshiped the rising than the setting sun;" intimating that his power was increasing, and Sylla's upon the decline. Sylla did not well hear what he said, but perceiving by the looks and gestures of the company that they were struck with the expression, he asked what it was. When he was told it, he admired the spirit of Pompey, and cried, "Let him triumph! Let him triumph!"

slaves the senate, nor yet his glorious victories, which procured Fabius the surname of *Maximus*; but his reducing the populace of Rome into four tribes, who before were dispersed among all the tribes, and by that means had too much influence in elections and other public affairs. These were called *tribus urbanae*. Liv. ix. 48.

* Livy (Lib. xxxi.) tells us, the senate refused L. Cornelius Lentulus a triumph, for the same reason, though they thought his achievements worthy of that honour.

As Pompey perceived a strong spirit of envy and jealousy on this occasion, it is said, that to mortify those who gave into it the more, he resolved to have his chariot drawn by four elephants; for he had brought a number from Africa, which he had taken from the kings of that country. But finding the gate too narrow, he gave up that design, and contented himself with horses.

His soldiers, not having obtained all they expected, were inclined to disturb the procession, but he took no pains to satisfy them: he said, "He had rather give up his triumph than submit to flatter them." Whereupon Servilius, one of the most considerable men in Rome, and one who had been most vigorous in opposing the triumph, declared, "He now found Pompey really *the Great*, and worthy of a triumph."

There is no doubt that he might then have been easily admitted a senator, if he had desired it; but his ambition was to pursue honour in a more uncommon track. It would have been nothing strange, if Pompey had been a senator before the age fixed for it; but it was a very extraordinary instance of honour to lead up a triumph before he was a senator. And it contributed not a little to gain him the affections of the multitude; the people were delighted to see him, after his triumph, class with the equestrian order.

Sylla was not without uneasiness at finding him advance so fast in reputation and power; yet he could not think of preventing it, till with a high hand, and entirely against his will, Pompey raised Lepidus* to the consulship, by assisting him with all his interest in the election. Then Sylla seeing him con-

* Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, who by Pompey's interest was declared consul with Q. Lutatius Catalus, in the year of Rome 675.

ducted home by the people, through the *forum*, thus addressed him : “ I see, young man, you are proud of your victory. And undoubtedly it was a great and extraordinary thing, by your management of the people, to obtain for Lepidus, the worst man in Rome, the return before Catulus, one of the worthiest and the best. But awake, I charge you, and be upon your guard. For you have now made your adversary stronger than yourself.”

The displeasure Sylla entertained in his heart against Pompey appeared most plainly by his will. He left considerable legacies to his friends, and appointed them guardians to his son, but he never once mentioned Pompey. The latter, notwithstanding, bore this with great temper and moderation ; and when Lepidus and others opposed his being buried in the *Campus Martius*, and his having the honours of a public funeral, he interposed, and by his presence not only secured, but did honour to the procession.

Sylla's predictions were verified soon after his death. Lepidus wanted to usurp the authority of a dictator ; and his proceedings were not indirect, or veiled with specious pretences. He immediately took up arms, and assembled the disaffected remains of the factions which Sylla could not entirely suppress. As for his colleague Catulus, the uncorrupted part of the senate and people were attached to him, and in point of prudence and justice, there was not a man in Rome who had a greater character ; but he was more able to direct the civil government than the operations of war. This crisis, therefore, called for Pompey, and he did not deliberate which side he should take. He joined the honest party, and was declared general against Lepidus, who by this time had reduced great part of Italy, and was master of Cisalpine Gaul, where Brutus acted for him with a considerable force.

When Pompey took the field, he easily made his way in other parts, but he lay a long time before Mutina, which was defended by Brutus. Meanwhile Lepidus advanced by hasty marches to Rome, and sitting down before it, demanded a second consulship. The inhabitants were greatly alarmed at his numbers; but their fears were dissipated by a letter from Pompey, in which he assured them, he had terminated the war without striking a blow. For Brutus, whether he betrayed his army, or they betrayed him, surrendered himself to Pompey; and having a party of horse given him as an escort, retired to a little town upon the Po. Pompey, however, sent Geminius the next day to despatch him; which brought no small stain upon his character. Immediately after Brutus came over to him, he had informed the senate by letter, it was a measure that general had voluntarily adopted; and yet on the morrow he put him to death, and wrote other letters, containing heavy charges against him. This was the father of that Brutus, who, together with Cassius, slew Cæsar. But the son did not resemble the father, either in war or in his death, as appears from the life we have given of him. Lepidus, being soon driven out of Italy, fled into Sardinia, where he died of grief, not in consequence of the ruin of his affairs, but of meeting with a billet (as we are told), by which he discovered that his wife had dishonoured his bed.

At that time, Sertorius, an officer very different from Lepidus, was in possession of Spain, and not a little formidable to Rome itself; all the remains of the civil wars being collected in him, just as in a dangerous disease all the vicious humours flow to a distempered part. He had already defeated several generals of less distinction, and he was then engaged with Metellus Pius, a man of great character

in general, and particularly in war; but age seemed to have abated that vigour which is necessary for seizing and making the best advantage of critical occasions. On the other hand, nothing could exceed the ardour and expedition with which Sertorius snatched those opportunities from him. He came on in the most daring manner, and more like a captain of a banditti than a commander of regular forces; annoying with ambuscades, and other unforeseen alarms, a champion who proceeded by the common rules, and whose skill lay in the management of heavy-armed forces.

At this juncture, Pompey, having an army without employment, endeavoured to prevail with the senate to send him to the assistance of Metellus. Meantime, Catulus ordered him to disband his forces; but he found various pretences for remaining in arms in the neighbourhood of Rome; till at last, upon the motion of Lucius Philippus, he obtained the command he wanted. On this occasion, we are told, one of the senators, somewhat surprised at the motion, asked him who made it, whether his meaning was to send out Pompey [*pro consule*] as the representative of a consul? "No," answered he, "but [*pro consulibus*] as the representative of both consuls;" intimating by this the incapacity of the consuls of that year.

When Pompey arrived in Spain, new hopes were excited, as is usual upon the appearance of a new general of reputation; and such of the Spanish nation as were not very firmly attached to Sertorius, began to change their opinions, and to go over to the Romans. Sertorius then expressed himself in a very insolent and contemptuous manner with respect to Pompey: he said, "He should want no other weapons than a rod and ferula to chastise the boy with, were it not that he feared the old woman;"

meaning Metellus. But in fact it was Pompey he was afraid of, and on his account he carried on his operations with much greater caution. For Metellus gave into a course of luxury and pleasure, which no one could have expected, and changed the simplicity of a soldier's life for a life of pomp and parade. Hence Pompey gained additional honour and interest; for he cultivated plainness and frugality more than ever; though he had not, in that respect, much to correct in himself, being naturally sober and regular in his desires.

The war appeared in many forms; but nothing touched Pompey so nearly as the loss of Lauron, which Sertorius took before his eyes. Pompey thought he had blocked up the enemy, and spoke of it in high terms, when suddenly he found himself surrounded, and being afraid to move, had the mortification to see the city laid in ashes in his presence. However, in an engagement near Valencia, he defeated Herennius and Perpenna, officers of considerable rank, who had taken part with Sertorius, and acted as his lieutenants, and killed above ten thousand of their men.

Elated with this advantage, he hastened to attack Sertorius, that Metellus might have no share in the victory. He found him near the river Sucro, and they engaged near the close of day. Both were afraid Metellus should come up; Pompey wanting to fight alone, and Sertorius to have but one general to fight with. The issue of the battle was doubtful; one wing in each army being victorious. But of the two generals Sertorius gained the greatest honour, for he routed the battalions that opposed him. As for Pompey, he was attacked on horseback by one of the enemy's infantry, a man of uncommon size. While they were close engaged with their swords, the strokes happened to light on each other's hand,

but with different success ; Pompey received only a slight wound, and he lopped off the other's hand. Numbers then fell upon Pompey, for his troops in that quarter were already broken ; but he escaped beyond all expectation, by quitting his horse, with gold trappings and other valuable furniture, to the barbarians, who quarreled and came to blows about dividing the spoil.

Next morning at break of day, both drew up again, to give the finishing stroke to the victory, to which both laid claim. But, upon Metellus coming up, Sertorius retired, and his army dispersed. Nothing was more common than for his forces to disperse in that manner, and afterwards to knit again ; so that Sertorius was often seen wandering alone, and as often advancing again at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand men, like a torrent swelled ~~by~~ sudden rains.

After the battle, Pompey went to wait on Metellus ; and, upon approaching him, he ordered his *lictors* to lower the *fascies*, by way of compliment to Metellus, as his superior. But Metellus would not suffer it ; and, indeed, in all respects he behaved to Pompey with great politeness, taking nothing upon him on account of his consular dignity, or his being the older man, except to give the word, when they encamped together. And very often they had separate camps ; for the enemy, by his artful and various measures, by making his appearance at different places almost at the same instant, and by drawing them from one action to another, oblige them to divide. He cut off their provisions, he laid waste the country, he made himself master of the sea ; the consequence of which was, that they were both forced to quit their own provinces, and go into those of others for supplies.

Pompey, having exhausted most of his own fortune in support of the war, applied to the senate for money to pay the troops, declaring he would return with his army to Italy, if they did not send it him. Lucullus, who was then consul, though he was upon ill terms with Pompey, took care to furnish him with the money as soon as possible ; because he wanted to be employed himself in the Mithridatic war, and he was afraid to give Pompey a pretext to leave Sertorius, and to solicit the command against Mithridates, which was a more honourable, and yet appeared a less difficult commission.

Meantime Sertorius was assassinated by his own officers^{*} ; and Perpenna, who was at the head of the conspirators, undertook to supply his place. He had, indeed, the same troops, the same magazines and supplies, but he had not the same understanding to make a proper use of them. Pompey immediately took the field, and having intelligence that Perpenna was greatly embarrassed as to the measures he should take, he threw out ten cohorts as a bait for him, with orders to spread themselves over the plain. When he found it took, and that Perpenna was busied in the pursuit of that handful of men, he suddenly made his appearance with the main body, attacked the enemy, and routed him entirely. Most of the officers fell in the battle ; Perpenna himself was taken prisoner, and brought to Pompey, who commanded him to be put to death. Nevertheless, Pompey is not to be accused of ingratitude, nor are we to suppose him (as some will have it), forgetful of the services he had received from that officer in Sicily. On the contrary, he

* It was three years after the consulate of Lucullus, that Sertorius was assassinated.

acted with a wisdom and dignity of mind that proved very salutary to the public. Perpenna having got the papers of Sertorius into his hands, showed letters by which some of the most powerful men in Rome, who were desirous to raise new commotions, and overturn the establishment, had invited Sertorius into Italy. But Pompey fearing those letters might excite greater wars than that he was then finishing, put Perpenna to death, and burned the papers without reading them. He stayed just long enough in Spain to compose the troubles, and to remove such uneasinesses as might tend to break the peace; after which he marched back to Italy, where he arrived, as fortune would have it, when the *Servile* war was at the height.

Crassus, who had the command in that war, upon the arrival of Pompey, who, he feared, might snatch the laurels out of his hand, resolved to come to battle, however hazardous it might prove. He succeeded, and killed twelve thousand three hundred of the enemy. Yet fortune, in some sort, interweaved this with the honours of Pompey; for he killed five thousand of the slaves, whom he fell in with as they fled after the battle. Immediately upon this, to be beforehand with Crassus, he wrote to the senate, "That Crassus had beaten the gladiators in a pitched battle, but that it was *he* who had cut up the war by the roots." The Romans took a pleasure in speaking of this one among another, on account of their regard for Pompey; which was such, that no part of the success in Spain, against Sertorius, was ascribed by a man of them, either in jest or earnest, to any but Pompey.

Yet these honours and this high veneration for the man, were mixed with some fears and jealousies that he would not disband his army, but, treading in the steps of Sylla, raise himself by the sword to sovereign

power, and maintain himself*, as Sylla had done*. Hence, the number of those that went out of fear to meet him, and congratulate him on his return, was equal to that of those who went out of love. But when he had removed this suspicion, by declaring that he would dismiss his troops immediately after the triumph, there remained only one more subject for envious tongues; which was, that he paid more attention to the commons than to the senate; and whereas Sylla had destroyed the authority of the tribunes, he was determined to reestablish it, in order to gain the affections of the people. This was true: for there never was any thing they had so much set their hearts upon, or longed for so extravagantly, as to see the tribunitial power put in their hands again. So that Pompey looked upon it as a peculiar happiness, that he had an opportunity to bring that affair about; knowing, that if any one should be beforehand with him in this design, he should never find any means of making so agreeable a return for the kind regards of the people.

A second triumph was decreed him†, together with the consulship. But these were not considered as the most extraordinary instances of his power.

* Cicero, in his epistles to Atticus, says, Pompey made but little secret of this unjustifiable ambition. The passages are remarkable. *Mirandum enim in modum Cneius noster Syllani regni similitudinem concupivit*: Εἰδὸς αὐτοῦ λόγου, nihil ille unquam minus obscure tulit. Lib. vii. ep. 9. "Our friend Pompey is wonderfully desirous of obtaining a power like that of Sylla; I tell you no more than what I know, for he makes no secret of it." And again, *Hoc turpe Cneius noster biennio ante cogitavit; ita Sylla tulit animus ejus, et proscripserit*. Ibid. ep. 10. "Pompey has been forming this infamous design for these two years past; so strongly is he bent upon imitating Sylla, and proscribing like him." Hence we see how happy it was for Rome, that in the civil wars, Cæsar, and not Pompey, proved the conqueror.

† He triumphed towards the end of the year of Rome 682,

The strongest proof of his greatness was, that Crassus, the richest, the most eloquent, and most powerful man in the administration, who used to look down upon Pompey and all the world, did not venture to solicit the consulship without first asking Pompey's leave. Pompey, who had long wished for an opportunity to lay an obligation upon him, received the application with pleasure, and made great interest with the people in his behalf; declaring he should take their giving him Crassus for a colleague as kindly as their favour to himself.

Yet when they were elected consuls, they disagreed in every thing, and were embroiled in all their measures. Crassus had most interest with the senate, and Pompey with the people. For he had restored them the tribunitial power, and had suffered a law to be made, that judges should again be appointed out of the equestrian order*. However, the most agreeable spectacle of all to the people was Pompey himself, when he went to claim his exemption from serving in the wars. It was the custom for a Roman knight, when he had served the time ordered by law, to lead his horse into the *forum*, before the two magistrates called censors; and after having given account of the generals and other officers under whom he had made his campaigns, and of his own actions in them, to demand his discharge. On these occasions they received proper marks of honour or disgrace, according to their behaviour.

and at the same time was declared consul for the year ensuing. This was a peculiar honour, to gain the consulate without first bearing the subordinate offices; but his two triumphs, and his great services, excused that deviation from the common rules.

* L. Aurelius Cotta carried that point when he was prætor; and Plutarch says *again*, because Caius Gracchus had conveyed that privilege to the knights fifty years before.

Gellius and Lentulus were then censors, and had taken their seats in a manner that became their dignity, to review the whole equestrian order, when Pompey was seen at a distance with all the badges of his office, as consul, leading his horse by the bridle. As soon as he was near enough to be observed by the censors, he ordered his *lictors* to make an opening, and advanced, with his horse in hand, to the front of the tribunal. The people were struck with admiration, and a profound silence took place; at the same time a joy, mingled with reverence, was visible in the countenances of the censors. The senior censor then addressed him as follows: "Pompey the Great, I demand of you, whether you have served all the campaigns required by law?" He answered with a loud voice, "I have served them all; and all under myself, as general." The people were so charmed with this answer, that there was no end of their acclamations: At last, the censors rose up, and conducted Pompey to his house, to indulge the multitude, who followed him with the loudest plaudits.

When the end of the consulship approached, and his difference with Crassus was increasing daily, Caius Aurelius*, a man who was of the equestrian order, but had never intermeddled with state affairs, one day, when the people were met in full assembly, ascended the *rostra*, and said, "Jupiter had appeared to him in a dream, and commanded him to acquaint the consuls, that they must take care to be reconciled before they laid down their office." Pompey stood still, and held his peace; but Crassus went and gave him his hand, and saluted him in a friendly manner. At the same time he addressed the people, as follows: "I think, my fellow-citi-

zens, there is nothing dishonourable or mean in making the first advances to Pompey, whom you scrupled not to dignify with the name of *the Great*, when he was yet but a beardless youth, and for whom you voted two triumphs before he was a senator." Thus reconciled, they laid down the consulship.

Crassus continued his former manner of life ; but Pompey now seldom chose to plead the causes of those that applied to him, and by degrees he left the bar. Indeed, he seldom appeared in public, and when he did, it was always with a great train of friends and attendants ; so that it was not easy either to speak to him or see him, but in the midst of a crowd. He took pleasure in having a number of retainers about him, because he thought it gave him an air of greatness and majesty, and he was persuaded that dignity should be kept from being soiled by the familiarity, and indeed by the very touch of the many. For those who are raised to greatness by arms, and know not how to descend again to the equality required in a republic, are very liable to fall into contempt when they resume the robe of peace. The soldier is desirous to preserve the rank in the *forum* which he had in the field ; and he who cannot distinguish himself in the field, thinks it intolerable to give place in the administration too. When therefore the latter has got the man who shone in camps and triumphs into the assemblies at home, and finds him attempting to maintain the same preeminence there, of course he endeavours to humble him ; whereas, if the warrior pretends not to take the lead in domestic councils, he is readily allowed the palm of military glory. This soon appeared from the subsequent events.

The power of the pirates had its foundation in Cilicia. Their progress was the more dangerous,

because at first it was little taken notice of. In the Mithridatic war they assumed new confidence and courage, on account of some services they had rendered the king. After this the Romans being engaged in civil wars at the very gates of their capital, the sea was left unguarded, and the pirates by degrees attempted higher things; they not only attacked ships, but islands and maritime towns. Many persons, distinguished for their wealth, their birth, and their capacity, embarked with them, and assisted in their depredations, as if their employment had been worthy the ambition of men of honour. They had in various places arsenals, ports, and watch-towers, all strongly fortified. Their fleets were not only extremely well manned, supplied with skilful pilots, and fitted for their business by their lightness and celerity; but there was a parade of vanity about them more mortifying than their strength, in gilded sterns, purple canopies, and plated oars; as if they took a pride and triumphed in their villany. Music resounded, and drunken revels were exhibited on every coast. Here generals were made prisoners; there the cities the pirates had taken were paying their ransom; all to the great disgrace of the Roman power. The number of their galleys amounted to a thousand, and the cities they were masters of to four hundred.

Temples, which had stood inviolably sacred till that time, they plundered. They ruined the temple of Apollo at Claros, that, where he was worshiped, under the title of Didymæus*, that of the Cabiri in Samothrace, that of Ceres† at Hermione, that of

* So called from Didyme, in the territories of Miletus. *

† Pausanias (in *Laconic*), tell us the Lacedæmonians worship Ceres under the name of *Chthonia*: and (in *Corinthiac*), he gives us the reason of her having that name. "The *Argives* say, that Chthonia, the daughter of Colentas, having been

Æsculapius at Epidaurus, those of Neptune in the Isthmus, at Tænarus and in Calauria, those of Apollo at Actium and in the isle of Leucas, those of Juno at Samos, Argos, and the promontory of Lacinium*.

They likewise offered strange sacrifices; those of Olympus I mean†; and they celebrated certain secret mysteries, among which those of Mithra continue to this day‡, being originally instituted by them. They not only insulted the Romans at sea but infested the great roads, and plundered the villas near the coast: they carried off Sextilius and Bellinus, two prætors, in their purple robes, with all their servants and *lictors*. They seized the daughter of Antony, a man who had been honoured with a triumph, as she was going to her country house, and he was forced to pay a large ransom for her.

But the most contemptuous circumstance of all was, that when they had taken a prisoner, and he cried out that he was a Roman, and told them his name, they pretended to be struck with terror, smote their thighs, and fell upon their knees to ask him pardon. The poor man, seeing them thus humble themselves before him, thought them in earnest, and said he would forgive them; for some were so officious as to put on his shoes, and others to help him on with

saved out of a conflagration by Ceres, and conveyed to Hermione, built a temple to that goddess, who was worshiped there under the name of Chthonia."

* The printed texts gives us the erroneous reading of *Leucæum*, but two manuscripts give us *Lacinium*. Livy often mentions Juno *Lacinia*.

† Not on mount Olympus, but in the city of Olympus, near Phaselis in Pamphylia, which was one of the receptacles of the pirates. What sort of sacrifices they used to offer there is not known.

‡ According to Herodotus, the Persians worshiped Venus under the name of Mithres, or Mithra; but the sun is worshiped in that country.

his gown, that his quality might no more be mistaken. When they had carried on this farce, and enjoyed it for some time, they let a ladder down into the sea, and bade him go in peace; and, if he refused to do it, they pushed him off the deck, and drowned him.

Their power extended over the whole Tuscan sea, so that the Romans found their trade and navigation entirely cut off. The consequence of which was, that their markets were not supplied, and they had reason to apprehend a famine. This, at last, put them upon sending Pompey to clear the sea of pirates. Gabinus, one of Pompey's intimate friends, proposed the decree*, which created him not admiral, but monarch, and invested him with absolute power. The decree gave him the empire of the sea as far as the pillars of Hercules, and of the land for four hundred furlongs from the coasts. There were few parts of the Roman empire which this commission did not take in; and the most considerable of the barbarous nations, and most powerful kings, were moreover comprehended in it. Beside this, he was empowered to choose out of the senators fifteen lieutenants, to act under him, in such districts, and with such authority as he should appoint. He was to take from the quæstors, and other public receivers, what money he pleased, and equip a fleet of two hundred sail. The number of marine forces, of mariners and rowers, were left entirely to his discretion.

When this decree was read in the assembly, the people received it with inconceivable pleasure. The most respectable part of the senate saw, indeed, that

* This law was made in the year of Rome 686. The crafty tribune, when he proposed it, did not name Pompey. Pompey was now in the thirty-ninth year of his age. His friend, Gabinus, as appears from Cicero, was a man of infamous character.

such an absolute and unlimited power was above envy, but they considered it as a real object of fear. They therefore all, except Cæsar, opposed its passing into a law. He was for it, not out of regard for Pompey, but to insinuate himself into the good graces of the people, which he had long been courting. The rest were very severe in their expressions against Pompey: and one of the consuls venturing to say*, "If he imitates Romulus, he will not escape his fate," was in danger of being pulled in pieces by the populace.

It is true, when Catulus rose up to speak against the law, out of reverence for his person they listened to him with great attention. After he had freely given Pompey the honour that was his due, and said much in his praise, he advised them to spare him, and not to expose such a man to so many dangers; "for where will you find another," said he, "if you lose him?" They answered with one voice, "Yourself." Finding his arguments had no effect, he retired. Then Roscius mounted the rostrum, but not a man would give ear to him. However he made signs to them with his fingers, that they should not appoint Pompey alone, but give him a colleague. Incensed at the proposal, they set up such a shout, that a crow, which was flying over the *forum*, was stunned with the force of it, and fell down among the crowd. Hence we may conclude, that when birds fall on such occasions, it is not because the air is so divided with the shock as to leave a *vacuum*, but rather because the sound strikes them like a blow, when it ascends with such force, and produces so violent an agitation.

* The consuls of this year were Calpurnius Piso, and Aclius Glabrio.

The assembly broke up that day, without coming to any resolution. When the day came that they were to give their suffrages, Pompey retired into the country; and, on receiving information that the decree was passed, he returned to the city by night, to prevent the envy which the multitudes of people coming to meet him would have excited. Next morning at break of day he made his appearance, and attended the sacrifice. After which, he summoned an assembly, and obtained a grant of almost as much more as the first decree had given him. He was empowered to fit out five hundred galleys, and to raise an army of a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and five thousand horse. Twenty-four senators were selected, who had all been generals or prætors, and were appointed his lieutenants; and he had two quæstors given him. As the price of provisions fell immediately, the people were greatly pleased, and it gave them occasion to say, "The very name of Pompey had terminated the war."

However, in pursuance of his charge, he divided the whole Mediterranean into thirteen parts, appointing a lieutenant for each, and assigning him a squadron. By thus stationing his fleets in all quarters, he enclosed the pirates as it were in a net, took great numbers of them, and brought them into harbour. Such of their vessels as had dispersed and made off in time, or could escape the general chase, retired to Cilicia, like so many bees into a hive. Against these he proposed to go himself with sixty of his best galleys; but first he resolved to clear the Tuscan sea, and the coasts of Africa, Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily of all piratical adventurers; which he effected in forty days, by his own indefatigable endeavours and those of his lieutenants. But, as the consul Piso was indulging his malignity at home, in

wasting his stores and discharging his seamen, he sent his fleet round to Brundisium, and went himself by land through Tuscany to Rome.

As soon as the people were informed of his approach, they went in crowds to receive him, in the same manner as they had done a few days before, to conduct him on his way. Their extraordinary joy was owing to the speed with which he had executed his commission, so far beyond all expectation, and to the superabundant plenty which reigned in the markets. For this reason Piso was in danger of being deposed from the consulship, and Gabinius had a decree ready drawn up for that purpose; but Pompey would not suffer him to propose it. On the contrary, his speech to the people was full of candour and moderation; and when he had provided such things as he wanted, he went to Brundisium, and put to sea again. Though he was straitened for time, and in his haste sailed by many cities without calling, yet he stopped at Athens. He entered the town and sacrificed to the gods; after which he addressed the people, and then prepared to reembark immediately. As he went out of the gate he observed two inscriptions, each comprised in one line.

That within the gate was—

But know thyself a man, and be a god.

That without—

We wish'd, we saw; we loved, and we adored.

Some of the pirates, who yet traversed the seas, made their submission; and as he treated them in a humane manner, when he had them and their ships in his power, others entertained hopes of mercy, and, avoiding the other officers, surrendered themselves to Pompey, together with their wives and children.

He spared them all ; and it was principally by their means that he found out and took a number who were guilty of unpardonable crimes, and therefore had concealed themselves.

Still, however, there remained a great number, and indeed the most powerful part of these corsairs, who sent their families, treasures, and all useless hands, into castles and fortified towns upon Mount Taurus. Then they manned their ships, and waited for Pompey at Coracesium, in Cilicia. A battle ensued, and the pirates were defeated ; after which they retired into the fort. But they had not been long besieged before they capitulated, and surrendered themselves, together with the cities and islands which they had conquered and fortified, and which by their works, as well as situation, were almost impregnable. Thus the war was finished, and the whole force of the pirates destroyed, within three months at the farthest.

Beside the other vessels, Pompey took ninety ships with beaks of brass ; and the prisoners amounted to twenty thousand. He did not choose to put them to death, and at the same time he thought it wrong to suffer them to disperse, because they were not only numerous, but warlike and necessitous, and therefore would probably knit again and give future trouble. He reflected, that man by nature is neither a savage nor an unsocial creature ; and when he becomes so, it is by vices contrary to nature ; yet even then he may be humanized by changing his place of abode, and accustoming him to a new manner of life ; as beasts that are naturally wild put off their fierceness, when they are kept in a domestic way. For this reason he determined to remove the pirates to a great distance from the sea, and bring them to taste the sweets of civil life, by living in cities, and by the culture of the ground. He placed

some of them in the little towns of Cilicia, which were almost desolate, and which received them with pleasure, because at the same time he gave them an additional proportion of lands. He repaired the city of Soli*, which had lately been dismantled and deprived of its inhabitants by Tigranes, king of Armenia, and peopled it with a number of these corsairs. The remainder, which was a considerable body, he planted in Dyma a city of Achaia, which, though it had a large and fruitful territory, was in want of inhabitants.

Such as looked upon Pompey with envy found fault with these proceedings ; but his conduct with respect to Metellus in Crete was not agreeable to his best friends. This was a relation of that Metellus who commanded in conjunction with Pompey in Spain, and he had been sent into Crete some time before Pompey was employed in this war. For Crete was the second nursery of pirates after Cilicia. Metellus had destroyed many nests of them there, and the remainder, who were besieged by him at this time, addressed themselves to Pompey as suppliants, and invited him into the island, as included in his commission, and falling within the distance he had a right to carry his arms from the sea. He listened to their application, and by letter enjoined Metellus to take no farther steps in the war. At the same time he ordered the cities of Crete not to obey Metellus, but Lucius Octavius, one of his own lieutenants, whom he sent to take the command.

Octavius went in among the besieged, and fought on their side ; a circumstance which rendered Pompey not only odious, but ridiculous. For what could be more absurd than to suffer himself to be so blinded by his envy and jealousy of Metellus as to

* He called it after his own name Pompeiopolis.

lend his name and authority to a crew of profligate wretches, to be used as a kind of amulet to defend them. Achilles was not thought to behave like a man, but like a frantic youth carried away by an extravagant passion for fame, when he made signs to his troops not to touch Hector,

Lest some strong arm should snatch the glorious prize
Before Pelides.————

But Pompey fought for the common enemies of mankind, in order to deprive a prætor, who was labouring to destroy them, of the honours of a triumph. Metellus, however, pursued his operations till he took the pirates and put them all to death. As for Octavius, he exposed him in the camp as an object of contempt, and loaded him with reproaches, after which he dismissed him.

When news was brought to Rome, that the war with the pirates was finished, and that Pompey was bestowing his leisure upon visiting the cities, Manilius, one of the tribunes of the people, proposed a decree, which gave him all the provinces and forces under the command of Lucullus, adding likewise Bithynia, which was then governed by Glabrio. It directed him to carry on the war against Mithridates and Tigranes ; for which purpose he was also to retain his naval command. This was subjecting at once the whole Roman Empire to one man. For, the provinces which the former decree did not give him, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, the Upper Colchis, and Armenia, were granted by this, together with all the forces, which, under Lucullus, had defeated Mithridates and Tigranes.

By this law, Lucullus was deprived of the honours he had dearly earned, and had a person to succeed him in his triumph, rather than in the war ; but that was not the thing which affected the patri-

cians most. They were persuaded, indeed, that Lucullus was treated with injustice and ingratitude; but it was a much more painful circumstance, to think of a power in the hands of Pompey, which they could call nothing but a tyranny*. They therefore exhorted and encouraged each other to oppose the law, and maintain their liberty. Yet when the time came, their fear of the people prevailed, and no one spoke on the occasion but Catulus. He urged many arguments against the bill; and when he found they had no effect upon the commons, he addressed himself to the senators, and called upon them many times from the *rostrum*, "To seek some mountain, as their ancestors had done, some rock whither they might fly for the preservation of liberty."

We are told, however, that the bill was passed by all the tribes†, and almost the same universal authority conferred upon Pompey in his absence, which Sylla did not gain but by the sword, and by carrying war into the bowels of his country. When Pompey received the letters which notified his high promotion, and his friends, who happened to be by, congratulated him on the occasion, he is said to have knit his brows, smote his thigh, and expressed himself as if he was already overburdened and

* "We have then got at last," said they, "a sovereign; the republic is changed into a monarchy; the services of Lucullus, the honour of Glabrio and Marcius, two zealous and worthy senators, are to be sacrificed to the promotion of Pompey. Sylla never carried his tyranny so far."

† Two great men spoke in favour of the law, namely, Cicero and Cæsar. The former aimed at the consulate, which Pompey's party could more easily procure him, than that of Catulus and the senate. As for Cæsar, he was delighted to see the people insensibly lose that republican spirit and love of liberty which might one day obstruct the vast designs he had already formed.

wearied with the weight of power*: "Alas! is there no end of my conflicts? How much better would it have been to be one of the undistinguished many, than to be perpetually engaged in war? Shall I never be able to fly from envy to a rural retreat, to domestic happiness, and conjugal endearments?" Even his friends were unable to bear the dissimulation of this speech. They knew that the flame of his native ambition and lust of power was blown up to a greater height by the difference he had with Lucullus, and that he rejoiced the more in the present preference, on that account.

His actions soon unmasked the man. He caused public notice to be given in all places within his commission, that the Roman troops were to repair to him, as well as the kings and princes their allies. Wherever he went, he annulled the acts of Lucullus, remitting the fines he had imposed, and taking away the rewards he had given. In short, he omitted no means to show the partisans of that general that all his authority was gone.

Lucullus, of course, complained of this treatment; and their common friends were of opinion, that it would be best for them to come to an interview; accordingly they met in Galatia. As they had both given distinguished proofs of military merit, the *lictors* had entwined the rods of each with laurel. Lucullus had marched through a country full of flourishing groves, but Pompey's route was dry and barren, without the ornament or advantage of woods. His laurels, therefore, were parched and withered; which the servants of Lucullus no sooner observed, than they freely supplied them with fresh ones, and crowned his *fusces* with them. This seemed to be

* Is it possible to read this without recollecting the similar character of our Richard the Third?

an omen that Pompey would bear away the honours and rewards of Lucullus's victories. Lucullus had been consul before Pompey, and was the older man, but Pompey's two triumphs gave him the advantage in point of dignity.

Their interview had at first the face of great politeness and civility. They began with mutual compliments and congratulations: but they soon lost sight even of candour and moderation; they proceeded to abusive language; Pompey reproaching Lucullus with avarice, and Lucullus accusing Pompey of an insatiable lust of power; insomuch that their friends found it difficult to prevent violence. After this, Lucullus gave his friends and followers lands in Galatia, as a conquered country, and made other considerable grants. But Pompey, who encamped at a little distance from him, declared he would not suffer his orders to be carried into execution, and seduced all his soldiers, except sixteen hundred, who, he knew, were so mutinous that they would be as unserviceable to him as they had been ill-affected to their old general. Nay, he scrupled not to disparage the conduct of Lucullus, and to represent his actions in a despicable light. "The battles of Lucullus," he said, "were only mock battles, and he had fought with nothing but the shadows of kings; but that it was left for *him* to contend with real strength and well disciplined armies; since Mithridates had betaken himself to swords and shields, and knew how to make proper use of his cavalry."

On the other hand, Lucullus defended himself by observing, "That it was nothing new to Pompey to fight with phantoms and shadows of war: for like a dastardly bird, he had been accustomed to prey upon those whom he had not killed, and to tear the poor remains of a dying opposition. Thus he had arro-

gated to himself the conquest of Sertorius, of Lepidus, and Spartacus, which originally belonged to Metellus, to Catulus, and Crassus. Consequently, he did not wonder that he was come to claim the honour of finishing the wars of Armenia and Pontus, after he had thrust himself into the triumph over the fugitive slaves."

In a little time Lucullus departed for Rome; and Pompey, having secured the sea from Phœnicia to the Bosphorus, marched in quest of Mithridates, who had an army of thirty thousand foot and two thousand horse, but durst not stand an engagement. That prince was in possession of a strong and secure post upon a mountain, which he quitted upon Pompey's approach because it was destitute of water. Pompey encamped in the same place; and conjecturing, from the nature of the plants and the crevices in the mountain, that springs might be found, he ordered a number of wells to be dug, and the camp was in a short time plentifully supplied with water*. He was not a little surprised that this did not occur to Mithridates during the whole time of his encampment there.

After this, Pompey followed him to his new camp, and drew a line of circumvallation round him. Mithridates stood a siege of forty-five days, after which he found means to steal off with his best troops, having first killed all the sick, and such as could be of no service. Pompey overtook him near the Euphrates, and encamped over against him; but fearing he might pass the river unperceived, he drew out his troops at midnight. At that time Mithridates is said to have had a dream prefigurative of what was to befall him. He thought he was upon the Pontic sea, sailing with a favourable wind, and in sight of

* Paulus Æmilius had done the same thing long before in the Macedonian war.

the Bosphorus; so that he felicitated his friends in the ship, like a man perfectly safe, and already in harbour. But suddenly he beheld himself in the most destitute condition, swimming upon a piece of wreck. While he was in all the agitation which this dream produced, his friends awaked him, and told him that Pompey was at hand. He was now under a necessity of fighting for his camp, and his generals drew up the forces with all possible expedition.

Pompey seeing them prepared, was loath to risk a battle in the dark. He thought it sufficient to surround them, so as to prevent their flight; and what inclined him still more to wait for daylight, was the consideration that his troops were much better than the enemy's. However, the oldest of his officers entreated him to proceed immediately to the attack, and at last prevailed. It was not indeed very dark; for the moon, though near her setting, gave light enough to distinguish objects. But it was a great disadvantage to the king's troops, that the moon was so low, and on the backs of the Romans; because she projected their shadows so far before them, that the enemy could form no just estimate of the distances, but thinking them at hand, threw their javelins before they could do the least execution.

The Romans, perceiving their mistake, advanced to the charge with all the alarm of voices. The enemy were in such a consternation that they made not the least stand, and, in their flight, vast numbers were slain. They lost above ten thousand men, and their camp was taken. As for Mithridates, he broke through the Romans with eight hundred horse, in the beginning of the engagement. That corps, however, did not follow him far before they dispersed, and left him with only three of his people; one of which was his concubine Hypsiceratia, a woman of such a masculine and daring spirit that

the king used to call her Hypsicrates. She then rode a Persian horse, and was dressed in a man's habit, of the fashion of that nation. She complained not in the least of the length of the march; and beside that fatigue, she waited on the king, and took care of his horse, till they reached the castle of Inora*, where the king's treasure and his most valuable moveables were deposited. Mithridates took out thence many rich robes, and bestowed them on those who repaired to him after their flight. He furnished each of his friends, too, with a quantity of poison, that none of them, against their will, might come alive into the enemy's hands.

From Inora his design was to go to Tigranes in Armenia. But Tigranes had given up the cause, and set a price of no less than a hundred talents upon his head. He therefore changed his route, and having passed the head of the Euphrates, directed his flight through Colchis.

In the meantime, Pompey entered Armenia, upon the invitation of young Tigranes, who had revolted from his father, and was gone to meet the Roman general at the river Araxes. This river takes its rise near the source of the Euphrates, but bends its course eastward, and empties itself into the Caspian sea. Pompey and young Tigranes, in their march, received the homage of the cities through which they passed. As for Tigranes the father, he had been lately defeated by Lucullus; and now, being informed that Pompey was of a mild and humane disposition, he received a Roman garrison into his capital; and taking his friends and relations with him, went to surrender himself. As he rode up to

* It seems from a passage in Strabo, (B. xii.) that instead of *Inora*, we should read, *Sinoria*: for that was one of the many fortresses Mithridates had built between the greater and the less Armenia.

the intrenchments, two of Pompey's *lictors* came and ordered him to dismount, and enter on foot; assuring him that no man was ever seen on horseback in a Roman camp. Tigranes obeyed, and even took off his sword, and gave it them. As soon as he came before Pompey, he pulled off his diadem, and attempted to lay it at his feet. What was still worse, he was going to prostrate himself, and embrace his knees. But Pompey preventing it, took him by the hand, and placed him on one side of him, and his son on the other. Then addressing himself to the father, he said, "As to what you had lost before, you lost it to Lucullus. It was he who took from you Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, Galatia, and Sophene. But what you kept till my time, I will restore you, on condition you pay the Romans a fine of six thousand talents for the injury you have done them. Your son I will make king of Sophene.

Tigranes thought himself so happy in these terms, and in finding that the Romans saluted him king, that in the joy of his heart he promised every private soldier half a *mina*, every centurion ten *minas*, and every tribune a talent. But his son was little pleased at the determination; and when he was invited to supper, he said, "He had no need of such honours from Pompey; for he could find another Roman." Upon this, he was bound, and reserved in chains for the triumph. Not long after Phraätes, king of Parthia, sent to demand the young prince, as his son-in-law, and to propose that the Euphrates should be the boundary between him and the Roman empire. Pompey answered, "That Tigranes was certainly nearer to his father than his father-in-law; and as for the boundary, justice should direct it."

When he had despatched this affair, he left Afra-

nus to take care of Armenia, and marched himself to the countries bordering on Mount Caucasus, through which he must necessarily pass in search of Mithridates. The Albanians and Iberians are the principal nations in those parts. The Iberian territories touch upon the Moschian mountains and the kingdom of Pontus; the Albanians stretch more to the east, and extend to the Caspian sea. The Albanians at first granted Pompey a passage: but as winter overtook him in their dominions, they took the opportunity of the *Saturnalia*, which the Romans observe religiously, to assemble their forces to the number of forty thousand men, with a resolution to attack them; and for that purpose passed the Cyrenus*. The Cyrenus rises in the Iberian mountains, and being joined in its course by the Araxes from Armenia, it discharges itself, by twelve mouths, into the Caspian sea. Some say, the Araxes does not run into it†, but has a separate channel, and empties itself near it into the same sea.

Pompey suffered them to pass the river, though it was in his power to have hindered it; and when they were all got over, he attacked and routed them, and killed great numbers on the spot. Their king sent ambassadors to beg for mercy; upon which Pompey forgave him the violence he had offered, and entered into alliance with him. This done, he marched against the Iberians, who were equally numerous and more warlike, and who were very desirous to signalize their zeal for Mithridates, by repulsing Pompey. The Iberians were never subject to the Medes or Persians: they escaped even the Macedonian yoke, because Alexander was obliged

* Strabo and Ptolemy call this river *Cyrus*, and so Plutarch probably wrote it.

† This is Strabo's opinion, in which he is followed by the modern geographers.

to leave Hyrcania in haste. Pompey, however, defeated this people too, in a great battle, in which he killed no less than nine thousand, and took above ten thousand prisoners.

After this, he threw himself into Colchis; and Servilius came and joined him at the mouth of the Phasis, with the fleet appointed to guard the Euxine sea. The pursuit of Mithridates was attended with great difficulties: for he had concealed himself among the nations settled about the Bosphorus and the Palus Mæotis. Besides, news was brought Pompey that the Albanians had revolted, and taken up arms again. The desire of revenge determined him to march back, and chastise them. But it was with infinite trouble and danger that he passed the Cyrcus again, the barbarians having fenced it on their side with pallisades all along the banks. And when he was over he had a large country to traverse, which afforded no water. This last difficulty he provided against, by filling ten thousand bottles; and pursuing his march, he found the enemy drawn up on the banks of the river 'Abas *, to the number of sixty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, but many of them ill-armed, and provided with nothing of the defensive kind but skins of beasts.

They were commanded by the king's brother, named Cosis: who, at the beginning of the battle, singled out Pompey, and rushing in upon him, struck his javelin into the joints of his breastplate. Pompey in return run him through with his spear, and laid him dead on the spot. It is said that the Amazons came to the assistance of the barbarians from the mountains near the river Thermodon, and fought in this battle. The Romans, among the plunder of

* This river takes its rise in the mountains of Albania, and falls into the Caspian sea. Ptolemy calls it *Albanus*.

the field, did, indeed, meet with bucklers in the form of a half-moon, and such buskins as the Amazons wore; but there was not the body of a woman found among the dead. They inhabit that part of Mount Caucasus which stretches towards the Hyrcanian sea, and are not next neighbours to the Albanians*; for Gelæ and Leges lie between; but they meet that people, and spend two months with them every year on the banks of the Thermodon: after which they retire to their own country, where they live without the company of men.

After this action, Pompey designed to make his way to the Caspian sea, and march by its coasts into Hyrcania; but he found the number of venomous serpents so troublesome that he was forced to return, when three days march more would have carried him as far as he proposed.—The next route he took was into Armenia the Less, where he gave audience to ambassadors from the kings of the Elymæans† and Medes, and dismissed them with letters expressive of his regard. Meantime the king of Parthia had entered Gordyene, and was doing infinite damage to the subjects of Tigranes. Against him Pompey sent Afranius, who put him to the route, and pursued him as far as the province of Arbëlis.

Among all the concubines of Mithridates that were brought before Pompey, he touched not one,

* The Albanian forces, according to Strabo, were numerous, but ill-disciplined. Their offensive weapons were darts and arrows, and their defensive armour was made of the skins of beasts.

† Strabo (Lib. xvi.) places the Elymæans in that part of Assyria which borders upon Media, and mentions three provinces belonging to them, Gabiane, Mesabatice, and Corbiane. He adds, that they were powerful enough to refuse submission to the king of Parthia.

but sent them to their parents or husbands ; for most of them were either daughters or wives of the great officers and principal persons of the kingdom. But Stratonice, who was the first favourite, and had the care of a fort where the best part of the king's treasure was lodged, was the daughter of a poor old musician. She sung one evening to Mithridates at an entertainment, and he was so much pleased with her that he took her to his bed that night, and sent the old man home in no very good humour, because he had taken his daughter without condescending to speak one kind word to him. But when he waked next morning, he saw tables covered with vessels of gold and silver, a great retinue of eunuchs and pages, who offered him choice of rich robes, and before his gate a horse with such magnificent furniture, as is provided for those who are called the king's friends. All this he thought nothing but an insult and burlesque upon him, and therefore prepared for flight ; but the servants stopped him, and assured him that the king had given him the house of a rich nobleman lately deceased, and that what he saw was only the first fruits—a small earnest of the fortune he intended him. At last he suffered himself to be persuaded that the scene was not visionary ; he put on the purple, and mounted the horse, and, as he rode through the city, cried out, " All this is mine." The inhabitants, of course, laughed at him ; and he told them, " They should not be surprised at this behaviour of his, but rather wonder that he did not throw stones at them."

From such a glorious source sprung STRATONICE.

She surrendered to Pompey the castle, and made him many magnificent presents ; however, he took nothing but what might be an ornament to the so-

lemnities of religion, and add lustre to his triumph. The rest he desired she would keep for her own enjoyment. In like manner, when the king of Iberia sent him a bedstead, a table, and a throne, all of massy gold, and begged of him to accept them as a mark of his regard, he bade the quæstors apply them to the purposes of the public revenue.

In the castle of Cænon he found the private papers of Mithridates; and he read them with some pleasure, because they discovered that prince's real character. From these memoirs it appeared, that he had taken off many persons by poison, among whom were his own son Ariarathes and Alcæus of Sardis. His pique against the latter took its rise merely from his having better horses for the race than he. There were also interpretations, both of his own dreams and those of his wives; and the lascivious letters which had passed between him and Monime. Theophanes pretends to say, that there was found among those papers a memorial composed by Rutilius*, exhorting Mithridates to massacre all the Romans in Asia. But most people believe this was a malicious invention of Theophanes, to blacken Rutilius, whom probably he hated, because he was a perfect contrast to him; or it might be invented by Pompey, whose father was represented in Rutilius's histories as one of the worst of men.

From Cænon Pompey marched to Amisus; where his infatuating ambition put him upon very obnoxious measures. He had censured Lucullus much for disposing of provinces at a time when the war

* P. Rutilius Rufus was consul in the year of Rome 649. Cicero gives him a great character. He was afterwards banished into Asia, and when Sylla recalled him, he refused to return. He wrote a Roman history in Greek, which Appian made great use of.

was alive, and for bestowing other considerable gifts and honours, which conquerors use to grant after their wars are absolutely terminated. And yet when Mithridates was master of the Bosphorus, and had assembled a very respectable army again, the same Pompey did the very thing he had censured. —As if he had finished the whole, he disposed of governments, and distributed other rewards among his friends. On that occasion many princes and generals, and among them twelve barbarian kings, appeared before him; and to gratify those princes, when he wrote to the king of Parthia, he refused to give him the title of King of Kings, by which he was usually addressed.

He was passionately desirous to recover Syria, and passing from thence through Arabia, to penetrate to the Red Sea, that he might go on conquering every way to the ocean which surrounds the world. In Africa he was the first whose conquests extended to the Great Sea; in Spain he stretched the Roman dominions to the Atlantic; and in his late pursuit of the Albanians, he wanted but little of reaching the Hyrcanian sea. In order, therefore, to take the Red Sea too into the circle of his wars, he began his march; the rather, because he saw it difficult to hunt out Mithridates with a regular force, and that he was much harder to deal with in his flight than in battle. For this reason, he said, "He would leave him a stronger enemy than the Romans to cope with, which was famine." In pursuance of this intention, he ordered a number of ships to cruise about, and prevent any vessels from entering the Bosphorus with provisions; and that death should be the punishment for such as were taken in the attempt.

As he was upon his march with the best part of

his army, he found the bodies of those Romans, who fell in the unfortunate battle between Triarius* and Mithridates, still uninterred. He gave them an honourable burial; and the omission of it seems to have contributed not a little to the aversion the army had for Lucullus.

Proceeding in the execution of his plan, he subdued the Arabians about mount Amanus, by his lieutenant Afranius, and descended himself into Syria; which he converted into a Roman province, because it had no lawful king†. He reduced Judæa, and took its king Aristobulus prisoner. He founded some cities, and set others free; punishing the tyrants who had enslaved them. But most of his time was spent in administering justice, and in deciding the disputes between cities and princes. Where he could not go himself, he sent his friends: the Armenians and Parthians, for instance, having referred the difference they had about some territory, to his decision, he sent three arbitrators to settle the affair. His reputation as to power was great, and it was equally respectable as to virtue and moderation. This was the thing which palliated most of his faults, and and those of his ministers. He knew not how to restrain or punish the offences of those he employed, but he gave so gracious a reception to those who came to complain of them, that they went

* Triarius was defeated by Mithridates three years before Pompey's march into Syria. He had twenty-three tribunes, and a hundred and fifty centurions killed in that battle; and his camp was taken.

† Pompey took the temple of Jerusalem, killing no less than twelve thousand Jews in the action. He entered the temple contrary to their law, but had the moderation not to touch any of the holy utensils, or the treasure belonging to it. Aristobulus presented him with a golden vine, valued at five hundred talents, which he afterwards consecrated in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

away not ill satisfied with all they had suffered from their avarice and oppression.

His first favourite was Demetrius his enfranchised slave ; a young man, who, in other respects did not want understanding, but who made an insolent use of his good fortune. They tell us this story of him. Cato the philosopher, then a young man, but already celebrated for his virtue and greatness of mind, went to see Antioch, when Pompey was not there. According to custom, he traveled on foot, but his friends accompanied him on horseback. When he approached the city, he saw a great number of people before the gates, all in white, and on the way a troop of young men ranged on one side, and of boys on the other. This gave the philosopher pain ; for he thought it a compliment intended him, which he did not want.—However, he ordered his friends to alight and walk with him. As soon as they were near enough to be spoke with, the master of the ceremonies, with a crown on his head, and a staff of office in his hand, came up and asked them, “ Where they had left Demetrius, and when he might be expected ? ” Cato’s companions laughed, but Cato said only, “ Alas, poor city ! ” and so passed on.

Indeed, others might the better endure the insolence of Demetrius, because Pompey bore with it himself. Very often, when Pompey was waiting to receive company, Demetrius seated himself in a disrespectful manner at table, with his cap of liberty pulled over his ears. Before his return to Italy he had purchased the pleasantest villas about Rome, with magnificent apartments for entertaining his friends ; and some of the most elegant and expensive gardens were known by his name. Yet Pompey himself was satisfied with an indifferent house till his third triumph. Afterwards, he built that beautiful and celebrated theatre in Rome ; and as

an appendage to it, built himself a house, much handsomer than the former, but not ostentatiously great; for he who came to be master of it after him, at his first entrance was surprised, and asked, "Where was the room in which Pompey the Great used to sup?" Such is the account we have of these matters.

The king of Arabia *Petræa* had hitherto considered the Romans in no formidable light, but he was really afraid of Pompey, and sent letters to acquaint him that he was ready to obey all his commands. Pompey, to try the sincerity of his professions, marched against *Petra*. Many blamed this expedition, looking upon it as no better than a pretext to be excused pursuing *Mithridates*, against whom they would have had him turn, as against the ancient enemy of Rome; and an enemy who, according to all accounts, had so far recovered his strength as to propose marching through *Scythia* and *Pæonia* into Italy. On the other hand, Pompey was of opinion that it was much easier to ruin him when at the head of an army, than to take him in his flight, and therefore would not amuse himself with a fruitless pursuit, but rather chose to wait for a new emergency, and, in the meantime, to turn his arms to another quarter.

Fortune soon resolved the doubt. He had advanced near *Petra*, and encamped for that day, and was taking some exercise on horseback without the trenches, when messengers arrived from *Pontus*; and it was plain they brought good news, because the points of their spears were crowned with laurel. The soldiers seeing this, gathered about Pompey, who was inclined to finish his exercise before he opened the packet; but they were so earnest in their entreaties, that they prevailed upon him to alight and take it. He entered the camp with it in his hand; and as there was no tribunal ready, and

the soldiers were too impatient to raise one of turf, which was the common method, they piled a number of pack-saddles one upon another, upon which Pompey mounted, and gave them this information : " Mithridates is dead. He killed himself upon the revolt of his son Pharnaces. And Pharnaces has seized all that belonged to his father ; which he declares he has done for himself and the Romans."

At this news the army, as might be expected, gave a loose to their joy, which they expressed in sacrifices to the gods, and in reciprocal entertainments, as if ten thousand of their enemies had been slain in Mithridates. Pompey having thus brought the campaign and the whole war to a conclusion so happy, and so far beyond his hopes, immediately quitted Arabia, traversed the provinces between that and Galatia with great rapidity, and soon arrived at Amisus. There he found many presents from Pharnaces, and several corpses of the royal family, among which was that of Mithridates. The face of that prince could not be easily known, because the embalmers had not taken out the brain, and by the corruption of that the features were disfigured. Yet some that were curious to examine it distinguished it by the scars. As for Pompey, he would not see the body, but to propitiate the avenging deity *, sent it to Sinope. However, he looked upon and admired the magnificence of his habit, and the size and beauty of his arms. The scabbard of the sword, which cost four hundred talents, was stolen by one Publius, who sold it to Ariarathes. And Caius, the foster-brother of Mithridates, took the diadem, which was of most exquisite workmanship, and gave it privately to Faustus, the son of Sylla, who had begged it of him. This escaped the

knowledge of Pompey, but Pharnaces, discovering it afterwards, punished the persons guilty of the theft.

Pompey, having thoroughly settled the affairs of Asia, proceeded in his return to Rome with more pomp and solemnity. When he arrived at Mitylene, he declared it a free city, for the sake of Theophanes, who was born there. He was present at the anniversary exercises of the poets, whose sole subject that year was the actions of Pompey. And he was so much pleased with their theatre, that he took a plan of it, with a design to build one like it at Rome, but greater and more noble. When he came to Rhodes, he attended the declamations of all the Sophists, and presented each of them with a talent. Posidonius committed the discourse to writing, which he made before him against the position of Hermagoras, another professor of rhetoric, concerning Invention in general*. He behaved with equal munificence to the philosophers at Athens, and gave the people fifty talents for the repair of their city.

He hoped to return to Italy the greatest and happiest of men, and that his family would meet his affection with equal ardour. But the deity whose care it is always to mix some portion of evil with the highest and most splendid favours of fortune, had been long preparing him a sad welcome in his house. Mucia†, in his absence, had dishonoured his bed.

* Hermagoras was for reducing *invention* under two general heads, the reason of the process, and the state of the question; which limitation Cicero disapproved as much as his master Posidonius. Vide CICERO. de Invent. Rhetor. Lib. 1.

This Posidonius, who is of Apamea, is not to be confounded with Posidonius of Alexandria, the disciple of Zeno.

† Mucia was sister to Metellus Celer, and to Metellus Nepos. She was debauched by Cæsar; for which reason, when Pompey married Cæsar's daughter, all the world blamed him for turning off a wife by whom he had three children to

While he was at a distance, he disregarded the report, but upon his approach to Italy, and a more mature examination into the affair, he sent her a divorce without assigning his reasons either then or afterwards. The true reason is to be found in Cicero's epistles.

People talked variously at Rome concerning Pompey's intentions. Many disturbed themselves at the thought that he would march with his army immediately to Rome, and make himself sole and absolute master there. Crassus took his children and money, and withdrew; whether it was that he had some real apprehensions, or rather that he chose to countenance the calumny, and add force to the sting of envy; the latter seems the more probable. But Pompey had no sooner set foot in Italy, than he called an assembly of his soldiers, and, after a kind and suitable address, ordered them to disperse in their respective cities, and attend to their own affairs till his triumph, on which occasion they were to repair to him again.

As soon as it was known that his troops were disbanded, an astonishing change appeared in the face of things. The cities seeing Pompey the Great unarmed, and attended by a few friends, as if he was returning only from a common tour, poured out their inhabitants after him, who conducted him to Rome with the sincerest pleasure, and with a much greater force than that which he had dismissed; so that there would have been no need of the army, if he had formed any designs against the state.

As the law did not permit him to enter the city

espouse the daughter of a man whom he had often, with a sigh, called his *Ægiathus*. Mucia's disloyalty must have been very public, since Cicero, in one of his letters to Atticus, says, the divorce of Mucia meets with general approbation. Lib. i. ep. xii.

before his triumph, he desired the senate to defer the election of consuls on his account, that he might by his presence support the interest of Piso. But Cato opposed it, and the motion miscarried. Pompey, admiring the liberty and firmness with which Cato maintained the rights and customs of his country, at a time when no other man would appear so openly for them, determined to gain him if possible; and as Cato had two nieces, he offered to marry the one, and asked the other for his son. Cato, however, suspected the bait, and looked upon the proposed alliance as a means intended to corrupt his integrity. He therefore refused it, to the great regret of his wife and sister, who could not but be displeased at his rejecting such advances from Pompey the Great. Meantime Pompey being desirous to get the consulship from Afranius, distributed money for that purpose among the tribes, and the voters went to receive it in Pompey's own gardens. The thing was so public that Pompey was much censured for making that office venal, which he had obtained by his great actions, and opening a way to the highest honour in the state to those who had money, but wanted merit. Cato then observed to the ladies of his family, that they must all have shared in this disgrace, if they had accepted Pompey's alliance; upon which they acknowledged he was a better judge than they of honour and propriety.

The triumph was so great, that though it was divided into two days, the time was far from being sufficient for displaying what was prepared to be carried in procession; there remained still enough to adorn another triumph. At the head of the show appeared the titles of the conquered nations; Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, the Iberians, the Albanians, Syria, Cilicia,

Mesopotamia, Phœnicia, Palestine, Judæa, Arabia, the pirates subdued both by sea and land. In these countries, it was mentioned that there were not less than a thousand castles, and near nine hundred cities taken; eight hundred galleys taken from the pirates; and thirty-nine desolate cities repeople. On the face of the tablets it appeared besides, that whereas the revenues of the Roman empire before these conquests amounted but to fifty millions of *drachmas*, by the new acquisitions they were advanced to eighty-five millions; and that Pompey had brought into the public treasury, in money, and in gold and silver vessels, to the value of twenty thousand talents, besides what he had distributed among the soldiers, of whom he that received least had fifteen hundred drachmas to his share. The captives who walked in the procession (not to mention the chiefs of the pirates) were the son of Tigranes, king of Armenia, together with his wife and daughter; Zosima, the wife of Tigranes himself; Aristobulus, king of Judæa; the sister of Mithridates, with her five sons; and some Scythian women. The hostages of the Albanians and Iberians, and of the king of Commagene also appeared in the train: and as many trophies were exhibited as Pompey had gained victories, either in person or by his lieutenants, the number of which was not small.

But the most honourable circumstance, and what no other Roman could boast, was that his third triumph was over the third quarter of the world, after his former triumphs had been over the other two. Others before him had been honoured with three triumphs; but his first triumph was over Africa, his second over Europe, and his third over Asia; so that the three seemed to declare him conqueror of the world.

Those who desire to make the parallel between
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him and Alexander agree in all respects, tell us he ~~was~~ at this time not quite thrity-four, whereas, in fact, ~~he~~ was entering upon his fortieth year*. Happy it had been for him, if he had ended his days, while he was blessed with Alexander's good fortune! The rest of his life, every instance of success brought its proportion of envy, and every miscarriage was irretrievable. For the authority which he had gained by his merit he employed for others in a way not very honourable; and his reputation consequently sinking, as they grew in strength, he ~~was~~ insensibly ruined by the weight of his own power. As it happens in a siege, every strong work that is taken adds to the besieger's force; so Cæsar, when raised by the influence of Pompey, turned that power, which enabled him to trample upon his country, upon Pompey himself. It happened in this manner.

Lucullus, who had been treated so unworthily by Pompey in Asia, upon his return to Rome met with the most honourable reception from the senate; and they gave him still greater marks of their esteem after the arrival of Pompey; endeavouring to awake his ambition, and prevail with him to attempt the lead in the administration. But his spirit and active powers were by this time on the decline; he had given himself up to the pleasures of ease and the enjoyments of wealth. However, he bore up against Pompey with some vigour at first, and got his acts confirmed, which his adversary had annulled; having a majority in the senate through the assistance of Cato.

Pompey, thus worsted in the senate, had recourse to the tribunes of the people and to the young ple-

* It should be forty-sixth year. Pompey was born in the beginning of the month of August, in the year of Rome 647, and his triumph was in the same month in the year of Rome 692.

beians. Clodius, the most daring and profligate of them all, received him with open arms, but at the same time subjected him to all the humours of the populace. He made him dangle after him in the *forum* in a manner far beneath his dignity, and insisted upon his supporting every bill that he proposed, and every speech that he made, to flatter and ingratiate himself with the people. And, as if the connexion with him had been an honour instead of a disgrace, he demanded still higher wages; that Pompey should give up Cicero, who had ever been his fast friend, and of the greatest use to him in the administration. And these wages he obtained. For when Cicero came to be in danger, and requested Pompey's assistance, he refused to see him, and, shutting his gates against those that came to intercede for him, went out at a back door. Cicero, therefore, dreading the issue of the trial, departed privately from Rome.

At this time Cæsar, returning from his province*, undertook an affair, which rendered him very popular at present, and in its consequences gained him power, but proved a great prejudice to Pompey and to the whole commonwealth. He was then soliciting his first consulship, and Crassus and Pompey being at variance, he perceived that if he should join the one, the other would be his enemy of course; he therefore set himself to reconcile them. A thing which seemed honourable in itself, and calculated for the public good; but the intention was insidious, though deep laid and covered with the most refined policy. For while the power of the state was di-

* It was not at the time of Cicero's going into exile that Cæsar returned from his province of Spain, which he had governed with the title of prætor but two years before. Cæsar returned in the year of Rome 693, and Cicero quitted Rome in the year 695.

vided, it kept it in an *equilibrium*, as the burden of a ship properly distributed keeps it from inclining to one side more than another, but when the power came to be all collected into one part, having nothing to counterbalance it, it overset and destroyed the commonwealth. Hence it was, that when some were observing that the constitution was ruined by the difference which happened afterwards between Cæsar and Pompey, Cato said, "You are under a great mistake: it was not their late disagreement, but their former union and connexion which gave the constitution the first and greatest blow."

To this union Cæsar owed his consulship. And he was no sooner appointed than he began to make his court to the indigent part of the people, by proposing laws for sending out colonies, and for the distribution of lands; by which he descended from the dignity of a consul, and in some sort took upon him the office of a tribune. His colleague Bibulus opposed him, and Cato prepared to support Bibulus in the most strenuous manner; when Cæsar placed Pompey by him upon the tribunal, and asked him, before the whole assembly, "Whether he approved his laws?" and upon his answering in the affirmative, he put this farther question, "Then if any one shall with violence oppose these laws, will you come to the assistance of the people?" Pompey answered, "I will certainly come; and against those that threaten to take the sword, I will bring both sword and buckler."

Pompey till that day had never said any thing so obnoxious; and his friends could only say, by way of apology, that it was an expression which had escaped him. But it appeared by the subsequent events, that he was then entirely at Cæsar's devotion. For within a few days, to the surprise of all the world, he married Julia, Cæsar's daughter, who had

been promised to Cæpio, and was upon the point of being married to him. To appease the resentment of Cæpio, he gave him his own daughter, who had been before contracted to Faustus, the son of Sylla ; and Cæsar married Calpurnia, the daughter of Piso.

Pompey then filled the city with soldiers, and carried every thing with open force. Upon Bibulus the consul's making his appearance in the *forum*, together with Lucullus and Cato, the soldiers suddenly fell upon him, and broke his *fascēs*. Nay, one of them had the impudence to empty a basket of dung upon the head of Bibulus ; and two tribunes of the people, who accompanied him, were wounded. The *forum* thus cleared of all opposition, the law passed for the division of lands. The people, caught by this bait, became tame and tractable in all respects, and without questioning the expediency of any of their measures, silently gave their suffrages to whatever was proposed. The acts of Pompey, which Lucullus had contested, were confirmed ; and the two Gauls on this and the other side the Alps and Illyria, were allotted to Cæsar for five years, with four complete legions. At the same time Piso, Cæsar's father-in-law, and Gabinius, one of the most abandoned flatterers of Pompey, were pitched upon for consuls for the ensuing year.

Bibulus, finding matters thus carried, shut himself up in his house, and for the eight following months remained inattentive to the functions of his office* ; contenting himself with publishing manifestos full of bitter invectives against Pompey and Cæsar. Cato, on this occasion, as if inspired with a spirit of prophecy, announced in full senate the calamities which

* Hence the wits of Rome, instead of saying, such a thing happened in the consulship of Cæsar and Bibulus, said, it happened in the consulship of Julius and Cæsar.

would befall the commonwealth and Pompey himself. Lucullus, for his part, gave up all thoughts of state affairs, and betook himself to repose, as if age had disqualified him for the concerns of government. Upon which Pompey observed, "That it was more unseasonable for an old man to give himself up to luxury than to bear a public employment." Yet, notwithstanding this observation, he soon suffered himself to be effeminated by the love of a young woman; he gave up his time to her; he spent the day with her in his villas and gardens, to the entire neglect of public affairs; insomuch that Clodius the tribune began to despise him, and to engage in the boldest designs against him. For after he had banished Cicero, and sent Cato to Cyprus, under pretence of giving him the command in that island; when Cæsar was gone upon his expedition into Gaul, and the tribune found the people entirely devoted to him, because he flattered their inclinations in all the measures he took, he attempted to annul some of Pompey's ordinances; he took his prisoner Tigranes from him, kept him in his own custody, and impeached some of his friends, in order to try in them the strength of Pompey's interest. At last, when Pompey appeared against one of these prosecutions, Clodius, having a crew of profligate and insolent wretches about him, ascended an eminence, and put the following questions, "Who is the licentious lord of Rome? Who is the man that seeks for a man*? Who scratches his head with one

* Τῆς ἀντὶ ζῆλῳ ἀνδρᾶ. Ζῆλῳ ἀνδρᾶ was a proverbial expression brought from Athens to Rome. It was taken originally from *Æsop's* seeking an honest man with a lanthorn at noonday; and, by degrees, it came to signify the loss of manhood, or the manly character, which loss Pompey was allowed to have sustained in the embraces of Julia.

finger*?" And his creatures, like a chorus instructed in their part, upon his shaking his gown, answered aloud to every question, *Pompey*†.

These things gave Pompey uneasiness, because it was a new thing to him to be spoken ill of, and he was entirely unexperienced in that sort of war. That which afflicted him most was his perceiving that the senate were pleased to see him the object of reproach, and punished for his desertion of Cicero. But when parties ran so high that they came to blows in the *forum*, and several were wounded on both sides, and one of the servants of Clodius was observed to creep in among the crowd, towards Pompey, with a drawn sword in his hand, he was furnished with an excuse for not attending the public assemblies. Besides, he was really afraid to stand the impudence of Clodius, and all the torrent of abuse that might be expected from him, and therefore made his appearance no more during his tribuneship, but consulted in private with his friends how to disarm the anger of the senate and the valuable part of the citizens. Culleo advised him to repudiate Julia, and to exchange the friendship of Cæsar for that of the senate; but he would not hearken to the proposal. Others proposed that he should recall Cicero, who was not only an avowed enemy to Clodius, but the favourite of the senate; and he agreed to that overture. Accordingly, with a strong body of his retainers, he conducted Cicero's brother into the *forum*, who was to apply to the people in his behalf, and after a

* *Uno scalpere digito* was likewise a proverbial expression for a Roman *petit maitre*.

† Plutarch does not here keep exactly to the order of time. This happened in the year of Rome 697, as appears from Dio, (Book xxxix,) that is, two years after what he is going to mention concerning that tribune's slave being taken with a sword.

scuffle, in which several were wounded, and some slain, he overpowered Clodius, and obtained a decree for the restoration of Cicero. Immediately upon his return the orator reconciled the senate to Pompey, and by effectually recommending the law which was to intrust him with the care of supplying Rome with corn*, he made Pompey once more master of the Roman empire, both by sea and land. For by this law the ports, the markets, the disposal of provisions, in a word, the whole business of the merchant and the husbandman, were brought under his jurisdiction.

Clodius, on the other hand, alleged, "That the law was not made on account of the real scarcity of provisions, but that an artificial scarcity was caused for the sake of procuring the law, and that Pompey, by a new commission, might bring his power to life again, which was sunk, as it were, in a *deliquium*." Others say, it was the contrivance of the consul Spinther, to procure Pompey a superior employment, that he might himself be sent to reestablish Ptolemy in his kingdom†.

However, the tribune Canidius brought in a bill, the purport of which was, that Pompey should be sent without an army, and with only two *lictors*, to reconcile the Alexandrians to their king. Pompey did not appear displeased at the bill; but the senate threw it out, under the honourable pretence of not hazarding his person. Nevertheless, papers were found scattered in the *forum* and before the senate-house, importing that Ptolemy himself desired that

* The law also gave Pompey proconsular authority for five years, both in and out of Italy. Dio, lib. xxxix.

† Ptolemy Auletes, the son of Ptolemy Lathyrus, hated by his subjects, and forced to fly, applied to the consul Spinther, who was to have the province of Cilicia, to reestablish him in his kingdom. Dio, *ubi supra*.

Pompey might be employed to act for him instead of Spinther. Timagenes pretends, that Ptolemy left Egypt without any necessity, at the persuasion of Theophanes, who was desirous to give Pompey new occasions to enrich himself and the honour of new commands. But the baseness of Theophanes does not so much support this story, as the disposition of Pompey discredits it; for there was nothing so mean and illiberal in his ambition.

The whole care of providing and importing corn being committed to Pompey, he sent his deputies and agents into various parts, and went in person into Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa, where he collected great quantities. When he was upon the point of reembarking, a violent wind sprung up, and the mariners made a difficulty of putting to sea; but he was the first to go on board, and he ordered them to weigh anchor, with these decisive words, "It is necessary to go; it is necessary to live." His success was answerable to his spirit and intrepidity. He filled the markets with corn, and covered the sea with his ships; insomuch that the overplus afforded a supply to foreigners, and from Rome, as from a fountain, plenty flowed over the world.

In the meantime the wars in Gaul lifted Cæsar to the first sphere of greatness. The scene of action was at a great distance from Rome, and he seemed to be wholly engaged with the Belgæ, the Suevi, and the Britons; but his genius all the while was privately at work among the people of Rome, and he was undermining Pompey in his most essential interests. His war with the barbarians was not his principal object. He exercised his army, indeed, in those expeditions, as he would have done his own body, in hunting and other diversions of the field; by which he prepared them for higher conflicts, and rendered them not only formidable but invincible.

The gold and silver, and other rich spoils which he took from the enemy in great abundance, he sent to Rome; and by distributing them freely among the ædiles, prætors, consuls, and their wives, he gained a great party. Consequently when he passed the Alps and wintered at Lucca, among the crowd of men and women, who hastened to pay their respects to him, there were two hundred senators, Pompey and Crassus of the number; and there were no fewer than a hundred and twenty proconsuls and prætors, whose *fascæ* were to be seen at the gates of Cæsar. He made it his business in general to give them hopes of great things, and his money was at their devotion; but he entered into a treaty with Crassus and Pompey, by which it was agreed that they should apply for the consulship, and that Cæsar should assist them, by sending a great number of his soldiers to vote at the election. As soon as they were chosen, they were to share the provinces, and take the command of armies, according to their pleasure, only confirming Cæsar in the possession of what he had, for five years more.

As soon as this treaty got air, the principal persons in Rome were highly offended at it. Marcellinus, then consul, planted himself amidst the people, and asked Pompey and Crassus, "Whether they intended to stand for the consulship?" Pompey spoke first, and said*, "Perhaps he might, perhaps he might not." Crassus answered, with more moderation, "He should do what might appear most expedient for the commonwealth." As Marcellinus continued the discourse against Pompey, and seemed to bear hard upon him, Pompey said, "Where is

* Dio makes him return an answer more suitable to his character—"It is not on account of the virtuous and the good that I desire any share in the magistracy, but that I may be able to restrain the ill disposed and the seditious."

the honour of that man, who has neither gratitude nor respect for him who made him an orator, who rescued him from want, and raised him to affluence?"

Others declined soliciting the consulship, but Lucius Domitius was persuaded and encouraged by Cato not to give it up. "For the dispute," he told him, "was not for the consulship, but in defence of liberty, against tyrants." Pompey and his adherents saw the vigour with which Cato acted, and that all the senate was on his side. Consequently they were afraid that, so supported, he might bring over the uncorrupted part of the people. They resolved, therefore, not to suffer Domitius to enter the *forum*, and sent a party of men well armed, who killed Melitus, the torch-bearer, and put the rest to flight. Cato retired the last, and not till after he had received a wound in his right elbow in defending Domitius.

Thus they obtained the consulship by violence, and the rest of their measures were not conducted with more moderation. For, in the first place, when the people were going to choose Cato prætor, at the instant their suffrages were to be taken, Pompey dismissed the assembly, pretending he had seen an inauspicious flight of birds*. Afterwards the tribes, corrupted with money, declared Antius and Vatinius prætors. Then, in pursuance of their agreement with Cæsar, they put Trebonius, one of the tribunes on proposing a decree, by which the go-

* This was making religion merely an engine of state, and it often proved a very convenient one for the purposes of ambition. Clodius, though otherwise one of the vilest tribunes that ever existed, was very right in attempting to put a stop to that means of dismissing an assembly. He preferred a bill, that no magistrate should make any observations in the heavens while the people were assembled.

vernment of the Gauls was continued for five years more to Cæsar; Syria, and the command against the Parthians, were given to Crassus; and Pompey was to have all Africa, and both the Spains, with four legions, two of which he lent to Cæsar, at his request, for the war in Gaul.

Crassus, upon the expiration of his consulship, repaired to his province. Pompey, remaining at Rome, opened his theatre; and, to make the dedication more magnificent, exhibited a variety of gymnastic games, entertainments of music, and battles with wild beasts, in which were killed five hundred lions; but the battle of elephants afforded the most astonishing spectacle*. These things gained him the love and admiration of the public; but he incurred their displeasure again, by leaving his provinces and armies entirely to his friends and lieutenants, and roving about Italy with his wife from one villa to another. Whether it was his passion for her, or hers for him, that kept him so much with her, is uncertain. For the latter has been supposed to be the case, and nothing was more talked of than the fondness of that young woman for her husband, though at that age his person could hardly be any great object of desire. But the charm of his fidelity was the cause, together with his conversation, which, notwithstanding his natural gravity, was particularly agreeable to the women, if we may allow the courtesan Flora to be a sufficient evidence. This strong attachment of Julia appeared on occasion of an election of ædiles. The people came to

* Dio says, the elephants fought with armed men. There were no less than eighteen of them; and he adds, that some of them seemed to appeal, with piteous cries, to the people; who, in compassion, saved their lives. If we may believe him, an oath had been taken before they left Africa, that no injury should be done them.

blows, and some were killed so near Pompey that he was covered with blood, and forced to change his clothes. There was a great crowd and tumult about his door, when his servants went home with the bloody robe; and Julia, who was with child, happening to see it, fainted away, and was with difficulty recovered. However, such was her terror and the agitation of her spirits, that she miscarried. After this, those who complained most of Pompey's connexion with Cæsar could not find fault with his love of Julia. She was pregnant afterwards, and brought him a daughter, but unfortunately died in childbed; nor did the child long survive her. Pompey was preparing to bury her near a seat of his at Alba, but the people seized the corpse, and interred it in the *Campus Martius*. This they did more out of regard to the young woman, than either to Pompey or Cæsar; yet in the honours they did her remains, their attachment to Cæsar, though at a distance, had a greater share, than any respect for Pompey, who was on the spot.

Immediately after Julia's death, the people of Rome were in great agitation, and there was nothing in their speeches and actions which did not tend to a rupture. The alliance, which rather covered than restrained the ambition of the two great competitors for power, was now no more. To add to the misfortune, news was brought soon after that Crassus was slain by the Parthians; and in him another great obstacle to a civil war was removed. Out of fear of him, they had both kept some measures with each other. But when fortune had carried off the champion who could take up the conqueror, we may say with the comic poet,

———High spirit of emprise
Elates each chief; they oil their brawny limbs,
And dip their hands in dust.———

So little able is fortune to fill the capacities of the human mind; when such a weight of power, and extent of command, could not satisfy the ambition of two men. They had heard and read that the gods had divided the universe into three shares*, and each was content with that which fell to his lot, and yet these men could not think the Roman empire sufficient for two of them.

Yet Pompey, in an address to the people at that time, told them, "He had received every commission they had honoured him with sooner than he expected himself; and laid it down sooner than was expected by the world." And, indeed, the dismissal of his troops always bore witness to the truth of that assertion. But now, being persuaded that Cæsar would not disband his army, he endeavoured to fortify himself against him by great employments at home; and this without attempting any other innovation. For he would not appear to distrust him; on the contrary, he rather affected to despise him. However, when he saw the great offices of state not disposed of agreeably to his desire, but that the people were influenced, and his adversaries preferred for money, he thought it would best serve his cause to suffer anarchy to prevail. In consequence of the reigning disorders, a dictator was much talked of. Lucilius, one of the tribunes, was the first who ventured to propose it in form to the people, and he exhorted them to choose Pompey dic-

* Plutarch alludes here to a passage in the fifteenth book of the Iliad, where Neptune says to Iris,

"Assign'd by lot our triple rule we know;
Infernal Pluto sways the shades below;
O'er the wide clouds, and o'er the starry plain,
Ethereal Jove extends his high domain:
My court beneath the hoary waves I keep,
And hush the roarings of the sacred deep." POPE.

tator. Cato opposed it so effectually that the tribune was in danger of being deposed. Many of Pompey's friends then stood up in defence of the purity of his intentions, and declared, he neither asked nor wished for the dictatorship. Cato, upon this, paid the highest compliments to Pompey, and entreated him to assist in the support of order and of the constitution. Pompey could not but accede to such a proposal, and Domitius and Messala were elected consuls *.

The same anarchy and confusion afterwards took place again, and numbers began to talk more boldly of setting up a dictator. Cato, now fearing he should be overborne, was of opinion that it were better to give Pompey some office whose authority was limited by law, than to intrust him with absolute power. Bibulus, though Pompey's declared enemy, moved in full senate, that he should be appointed sole consul. "For by that means," said he, "the commonwealth will either recover from her disorder, or, if she must serve, will serve a man of the greatest merit." The whole house was surprised at the motion; and when Cato rose up, it was expected he would oppose it. A profound silence ensued, and he said, "He should never have been the first to oppose such an expedient, but as it was proposed by another, he thought it advisable to embrace it; for he thought any kind of government better than anarchy, and knew no man fitter to rule

* In the year of Rome 700. Such corruption now prevailed among the Romans that candidates for the curule offices brought their money openly to the place of election, where they distributed it, without blushing, among the heads of factions; and those who received it employed force and violence in favour of those persons who paid them; so that scarce any office was disposed of but what had been disputed with the sword, and cost the lives of many citizens.

than Pompey, in a time of so much trouble." The senate came into his opinion, and a decree was passed, that Pompey should be appointed sole consul, and that if he should have need of a colleague, he might choose one himself, provided it were not before the expiration of two months.

Pompey being declared sole consul by the *Interrex* Sulpitius, made his compliments to Cato, acknowledged himself much indebted to his support, and desired his assistance and advice in the cabinet, as to the measures to be pursued in his administration. Cato made answer, "That Pompey was not under the least obligation to him; for what he had said was not out of regard to him, but to his country. If you apply to me," continued he, "I shall give you my advice in private; if not, I shall inform you of my sentiments in public." Such was Cato, and the same on all occasions.

Pompey then went into the city, and married Cornelia, the daughter of Metellus Scipio*. She was not a virgin, but a widow, having been married when very young, to Publius the son of Crassus, who was lately killed in the Parthian expedition. This woman had many charms beside her beauty. She was well versed in polite literature; she played upon the lyre, and understood geometry; and she had made considerable improvements by the precepts of philosophy. What is more, she had nothing of that petulance and affectation which such studies are apt to produce in women of her age. And her father's family and reputation were unexceptionable.

Many, however, were displeased with this match, on account of the disproportion of years; they thought Cornelia would have been more suitable to

* The son of Scipio Nasica, but adopted into the family of the Metelli.

his son than to him. Those that were capable of deeper reflection thought the concerns of the commonwealth neglected, which in a distressful case had chosen him for its physician, and confided in him alone. It grieved them to see him crowned with garlands, and offering sacrifice amidst the festivities of marriage, when he ought to have considered his consulship as a public calamity, since it would never have been given him in a manner so contrary to the laws, had his country been in a prosperous situation.

His first step was to bring those to account who gained offices and employments by bribery and corruption, and he made laws by which the proceedings in their trials were to be regulated. In other respects he behaved with great dignity and honour; and restored security, order, and tranquillity, to the courts of judicature, by presiding there in person with a band of soldiers. But when Scipio, his father-in-law, came to be impeached, he sent for the three hundred and sixty judges to his house, and desired their assistance. The accuser, seeing Scipio conducted out of the *forum* to his house, by the judges themselves, dropped the prosecution. This again exposed Pompey to censure; but he was censured still more, when after having made a law against encomiums on persons accused, he broke it himself, by appearing for Plancus, and attempting to embellish his character. Cato, who happened to be one of the judges, stopped his ears; declaring, "It was not right for him to hear such embellishments, contrary to law." Cato, therefore, was objected to and set aside before sentence was passed. Plancus, however, was condemned by the other judges, to the great confusion of Pompey*.

* Cicero, who managed the impeachment, was much de-

A few days after, Hypsæus, a man of consular dignity, being under a criminal prosecution, watched Pompey going from the bath to supper, and embraced his knees in the most suppliant manner. But Pompey passed with disdain, and all the answer he gave him was, "That his importunities served only to spoil his supper." This partial and unequal behaviour was justly the object of reproach. But all the rest of his conduct merited praise, and he had the happiness to reestablish good order in the commonwealth. He took his father-in-law for his colleague the remaining five months. His governments were continued to him for four years more, and he was allowed a thousand talents a year for the subsistence and pay of his troops.

Cæsar's friends laid hold on this occasion to represent, that some consideration should be had of him too, and his many great and laborious services for his country. They said, he certainly deserved either another consulship, or to have the term of his commission prolonged; that he might keep the command in the provinces he had conquered, and enjoy, undisturbed, the honours he had won, and that no successor might rob him of the fruit of his labours or the glory of his actions. A dispute arising upon the affair, Pompey, as if inclined to fence against the odium to which Cæsar might be exposed by this demand, said, he had letters from Cæsar, in which he declared himself willing to accept a successor, and to give up the command in Gaul; only he thought it reasonable that he should be permitted, though absent, to stand for the consulship*. Cato opposed this with all his force, and enlightened with the success of his eloquence; as appears from his epistle to Marius, lib. vii. ep. 2.

* There was a law against any absent person's being admitted a candidate; but Pompey had added a clause which empowered the people to except any man by name from personal attendance.

sisted, "That Cæsar should lay down his arms, and return as a private man, if he had any favour to ask of his country." And as Pompey did not labour the point, but easily acquiesced, it was suspected that he had no real friendship for Cæsar. This appeared more clearly, when he sent for the two legions which he had lent him, under pretence of wanting them for the Parthian war. Cæsar, though he well knew for what purpose the legions were demanded, sent them home laden with rich presents.

After this, Pompey had a dangerous illness at Naples, of which, however, he recovered. Praxagoras then advised the Neapolitans to offer sacrifices to the gods, in gratitude for his recovery. The neighbouring cities followed their example; and the humour spreading itself over Italy, there was not a town or village which did not solemnize the occasion with festivals. No place could afford room for the crowds that came in from all quarters to meet him; the high roads, the villages, the ports were filled with sacrifices and entertainments. Many received him with garlands on their heads and torches in their hands, and, as they conducted him on his way, strewed it with flowers. His returning with such pomp afforded a glorious spectacle; but it is said to have been one of the principal causes of the civil war. For the joy he conceived on this occasion, added to the high opinion he had of his achievements, intoxicated him so far, that, bidding adieu to the caution and prudence which had put his good fortune and the glory of his actions upon a sure footing, he gave into the most extravagant presumption, and even contempt of Cæsar; insomuch, that he declared, "He had no need of arms, nor any extraordinary preparations against him, since he could pull him down with much more ease than he had set him up."

Besides, when Appius returned from Gaul with the legions which had been lent to Cæsar, he endeavoured to disparage the actions of that general, and to represent him in a mean light. "Pompey," he said, "knew not his own strength and the influence of his name, if he sought any other defence against Cæsar, upon whom his own forces would turn, as soon as they saw the former; such was their hatred of the one, and their affection for the other."

Pompey was so much elated at this account, and his confidence made him so extremely negligent, that he laughed at those who seemed to fear the war. And when they said, that if Cæsar should advance in a hostile manner to Rome, they did not see what forces they had to oppose him, he bade them, with an open and smiling countenance, give themselves no pain: "For, if in Italy," said he, "I do but stamp upon the ground, an army will appear."

Meantime Cæsar was exerting himself greatly. He was now at no great distance from Italy, and not only sent his soldiers to vote in the elections, but by private pecuniary applications, corrupted many of the magistrates. Paulus the consul was of the number, and he had fifteen hundred talents * for changing sides. So were also Curio, one of the Tribunes of the people, for whom he paid off an immense debt, and Mark Antony, who, out of friendship for Curio, had stood engaged with him for the debt.

It is said, that when one of Cæsar's officers, who stood before the senate-house, waiting the issue of the debates, was informed, that they would not give Cæsar a longer term in his command, he laid his

* £ 310,685, sterling. With this money he built the stately *Basilica*, that afterwards bore his name.

hand upon his sword, and said, "But this shall give it."

Indeed, all the actions and preparations of his general tended that way; though Curio's demands in behalf of Cæsar seemed more plausible. He proposed, that either Pompey should likewise be obliged to dismiss his forces, or Cæsar suffered to keep his. "If they are both reduced to a private station," said he, "they will agree upon reasonable terms; or, if each retains his respective power, they will be satisfied. But he who weakens the one, without doing the same by the other, must double that force which he fears will subvert the government*."

Hereupon Marcellus the consul called Cæsar a public robber, and insisted that he should be declared an enemy to the state, if he did not lay down his arms. However, Curio, together with Antony and Piso, prevailed that a farther inquiry should be made into the sense of the senate. He first proposed, that such as were of opinion, "That Cæsar should disband his army, and Pompey keep his," should draw to one side of the house, and there appeared a majority for that motion. Then he proposed, that the number of those should be taken, whose sense it was, "That both should lay down their arms, and neither remain in command;" upon which question, Pompey had only twenty-two, and Curio all the rest†. Curio, proud of his victory, ran in transports of joy to the assembly of the peo-

* Cornelius Scipio, one of Pompey's friends, remonstrated, that, in the present case, a great difference was to be made between the proconsul of Spain and the proconsul of Gaul, since the term of the former was not expired, whereas that of the latter was.

† Dio, on the contrary, affirms that, upon this question, the senate were almost unanimous for Pompey; only two voting for Cæsar, viz. Marcus Cæcilius and Curio.

ple, who received him with the loudest plaudits, and crowned him with flowers. Pompey was not present at the debate in the house ; for the commander of an army is not allowed to enter the city. But Marcellus rose up and said, " I will no longer sit to hear the matter canvassed ; but, as I see ten legions have already passed the Alps, I will send a man to oppose them in behalf of my country."

Upon this, the city went into mourning, as in a time of public calamity. Marcellus walked through the *forum*, followed by the senate, and when he was in sight of Pompey without the gate, he said, " Pompey, I charge you to assist your country ; for which purpose you shall make use of the troops you have, and levy what new ones you please." Lentulus, one of the consuls elect for the next year, said the same. But when Pompey came to make the new levies, some absolutely refused to enlist ; others gave in their names in small numbers and with no spirit ; and the greatest part cried out, " A peace ! A peace !" For Antony, notwithstanding the injunctions of the senate to the contrary, had read a letter of Cæsar's to the people, well calculated to gain them. He proposed, that both Pompey and he should resign their governments and dismiss their forces, and then come and give an account of their conduct to the people.

Lentulus, who by this time had entered upon his office, would not assemble the senate ; for Cicero, who was now returned from his government in Cilicia, endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation. He proposed, that Cæsar should give up Gaul and disband the greatest part of his army, and keeping only two legions and the province of Illyricum, wait for another consulship. As Pompey received this proposal very ill, Cæsar's friends were persuaded to agree, that he should only keep one of those two legions. But Lentulus was against it, and Cato cried

out, "That Pompey was committing a second error, in suffering himself to be so imposed upon;" the reconciliation, therefore, did not take effect.

At the same time news was brought, that Cæsar had seized Arminium, a considerable city in Italy, and that he was marching directly towards Rome with all his forces. The last circumstance, indeed, was not true. He advanced with only three hundred horse and five thousand foot; the rest of his forces were on the other side the Alps, and he would not wait for them, choosing rather to put his adversaries in confusion by a sudden and unexpected attack, than to fight them when better prepared. When he came to the river Rubicon, which was the boundary of his province, he stood silent a long time, weighing with himself the greatness of his enterprise. At last, like one who plunges down from the top of a precipice into a gulf of immense depth, he silenced his reason, and shut his eyes against the danger; and crying out, in the Greek language "The die is cast," he marched over with his army.

Upon the first report of this at Rome, the city was in greater disorder and astonishment than had ever been known. The senate and the magistrates ran immediately to Pompey. Tullus asked him*, what forces he had ready for war; and as he hesitated in his answer, and only said at last, in a tone of no great assurance, "That he had the two legions lately sent him back by Cæsar, and that out of the new levies he believed he should shortly be able to make up a body of thirty thousand men;" Tullus exclaimed, "O Pompey, you have deceived us!" and gave it as his opinion, that ambassadors should immediately be despatched to Cæsar. Then one Favonius, a man otherwise of no ill character, but who, by an

* Lucius Volcatius Tullus.

insolent brutality, affected to imitate the noble freedom of Cato, bade Pompey "Stamp upon the ground, and call forth the armies he had promised."

Pompey bore this ill timed reproach with great mildness; and when Cato put him in mind of the warnings he had given him as to Cæsar, from the first, he said, "Cato indeed had spoken more like a prophet, and *he* had acted more like a friend." Cato then advised that Pompey should not only be appointed general, but invested with a discretionary power: adding, that "those who were the authors of great evils knew best how to cure them." So saying, he set out for his province of Sicily, and the other great officers departed for theirs.

Almost all Italy was now in motion, and nothing could be more perplexed than the whole face of things. Those who lived out of Rome fled to it from all quarters, and those who lived in it abandoned it as fast. These saw, that in such a tempestuous and disorderly state of affairs, the well disposed part of the city wanted strength, and that the ill disposed were so refractory that they could not be managed by the magistrates. The terrors of the people could not be removed, and no one would suffer Pompey to lay a plan of action for himself. According to the passion wherewith each was actuated, whether fear, sorrow, or doubt, they endeavoured to inspire him with the same; insomuch that he adopted different measures the same day. He could gain no certain intelligence of the enemy's motions, because every man brought him the report he happened to take up, and was angry if it did not meet with credit.

Pompey at last caused it to be declared by an edict in form, that the commonwealth was in danger, and no peace to be expected. After which, he signified that he should look upon those who remained

in the city as the partisans of Cæsar; and then quitted it in the dusk of the evening. The consuls also fled, without offering the sacrifices which their customs required before a war. However, in this great extremity, Pompey could not but be considered as happy in the affections of his countrymen. Though many blamed the war, there was not a man who hated the general. Nay, the number of those who followed him, out of attachment to his person, was greater than that of the adventurers in the cause of liberty.

A few days after, Cæsar arrived at Rome. When he was in possession of the city, he behaved with great moderation in many respects, and composed, in a good measure, the minds of its remaining inhabitants. Only when Metellus, one of the tribunes of the people, forbade him to touch the money in the public treasury, he threatened him with death, adding an expression more terrible than the threat itself, "That it was easier for him to do it than to say it." Metellus being thus frightened off, Cæsar took what sums he wanted, and then went in pursuit of Pompey; hastening to drive him out of Italy, before his forces could arrive from Spain.

Pompey, who was master of Brundisium, and had a sufficient number of transports, desired the consuls to embark without loss of time, and sent them before him with thirty cohorts to Dyrrhachium. But the same time he sent his father-in-law Scipio and his son Cnæus into Syria, to provide ships of war. He had well secured the gates of the city, and planted the lightest of his slingers and archers upon the walls; and having now ordered the Brundisians to keep within doors, he caused a number of trenches to be cut, and sharp stakes to be driven into them, and then covered with earth, in all the streets, except two which led down to the sea. In three days

all his other troops were embarked without interruption; and then he suddenly gave the signal to those who guarded the walls; in consequence of which, they ran swiftly down to the harbour, and got on board. Thus having his whole complement, he set sail, and crossed the sea to Dyrrhachium.

When Cæsar came and saw the walls left destitute of defence*, he concluded that Pompey had taken to flight, and in his eagerness to pursue, would certainly have fallen upon the ships, had not the Brundusians informed him of them. He then avoided the streets, and took a circuit round the town, by which he discovered that all the vessels were set out, except two that had not many soldiers aboard.

This manœuvre of Pompey was commonly reckoned among the greatest acts of generalship. Cæsar, however, could not help wondering, that his adversary, who was in possession of a fortified town, and expected his forces from Spain, and at the same time was master of the sea, should give up Italy in such a manner. Cicero†, too, blamed him for imitating the conduct of Themistocles, rather than that of Pericles, when the posture of his affairs more resembled the circumstances of the latter. On the other hand, the steps which Cæsar took showed he was afraid of having the war drawn out to any length: for having taken Numerius‡, a friend of Pompey's, he had sent him to Brundisium, with offers of coming to an accommodation upon reason-

* Cæsar besieged the port five days, during which he not only invested it on the land side, but undertook to shut up the port by a *staccado* of his own invention. However, before the work could be completed, Pompey made his escape.

† Ep. to Atticus, vii. 11.

‡ Cæsar calls him *Cn. Magnus*. He was Master of Pompey's Board of Works.

able terms. But Numerius, instead of returning with an answer, sailed away with Pompey.

Cæsar thus made himself master of all Italy in sixty days without the least bloodshed, and he would have been glad to have gone immediately in pursuit of Pompey. But as he was in want of shipping, he gave up that design for the present, and marched to Spain, with an intent to gain the forces there.

In the meantime Pompey assembled a great army; and at sea he was altogether invincible. For he had five hundred ships of war, and the number of his lighter vessels was still greater. As for his land forces, he had seven thousand horse, the flower of Rome and Italy*, all men of family, fortune, and courage. His infantry, though numerous, was a mixture of raw, undisciplined soldiers: he therefore exercised them during his stay at Bræta, where he was by no means idle, but went through all the exercises of a soldier, as if he had been in the flower of his age. It inspired his troops with new courage, when they saw Pompey the Great, at the age of fifty-eight, going through the whole military discipline, in heavy armour, on foot; and then mounting his horse, drawing his sword with ease when at full speed, and as dexterously sheathing it again. As to the javelin, he threw it not only with great exactness, but with such force that few of the young men could dart it to a greater distance.

Many kings and princes repaired to his camp, and

* Cæsar on the contrary says, that this body of horse was almost entirely composed of strangers. "There were six hundred Galatians, five hundred Cappadocians, as many Thracians, two hundred Macedonians, five hundred Gauls, or Germans, eight hundred raised out of his own estates, or out of his own retinue;" and so of the rest, whom he particularly mentions, and tells us to what countries they belonged.

the number of Roman officers who had commanded armies was so great, that it was sufficient to make up a complete senate. Labienus*, who had been honoured with Cæsar's friendship, and served under him in Gaul, now joined Pompey. Even Brutus, the son of that Brutus who was killed by him not very fairly in the Cisalpine Gaul, a man of spirit, who had never spoken to Pompey before, because he considered him as the murderer of his father, now ranged himself under his banners, as the defender of the liberties of his country. Cicero too, though he had written and advised otherwise, was ashamed not to appear in the number of those who hazarded their lives for Rome. Tadius Sextius, though extremely old, and maimed of one leg, repaired, among the rest, to his standard in Macedonia; and though others only laughed at the poor appearance he made, Pompey no sooner cast his eyes upon him than he rose up, and ran to meet him; considering it as a great proof of the justice of his cause, that, in spite of age and weakness, persons should come and seek danger with him, rather than stay at home in safety.

But after Pompey had assembled his senate, and at the motion of Cato, a decree was made, "That no Roman should be killed, except in battle, nor any city that was subject to the Romans be plunder-

* It seemed very strange, says Dio, that Labienus should abandon Cæsar, who had loaded him with honours and given him the command of all the forces on the other side of the Alps, while he was at Rome. But he gives this reason for it: "Labienus, elated with his immense wealth, and proud of his preferments, forgot himself to such a degree as to assume a character very unbecoming a person in his circumstances: He was even for putting himself upon an equality with Cæsar, who thereupon grew cool towards him, and treated him with some reserve, which Labienus resented, and went over to Pompey."

ed," Pompey's party gained ground daily. Those who lived at too great a distance, or were too weak to take a share in the war, interested themselves in the cause as much as they were able, and, with words at least, contended for it; looking upon those as enemies both to the gods and men, who did not wish that Pompey might conquer.

Not but that Cæsar made a merciful use of his victories. He had lately made himself master of Pompey's forces in Spain, and though it was not without a battle, he dismissed the officers, and incorporated the troops with his own. After this, he passed the Alps again, and marched through Italy to Brundisium, where he arrived at the time of the winter solstice. There he crossed the sea, and landed at Oricum; from whence he despatched Vibullius*, one of Pompey's friends, whom he had brought prisoner thither with proposals of a conference between him and Pompey, "in which they should agree to disband their armies within three days, renew their friendship, confirm it with solemn oaths, and then both return to Italy."

Pompey took this overture for another snare, and therefore drew down in haste to the sea, and secured all the forts and places of strength for land forces, as well as all the ports and other commodious stations for shipping; so there was not a wind that blew, which did not bring him either provisions, or troops, or money. On the other hand, Cæsar was reduced

* In the printed text it is *Jubius*; but one of the manuscripts gives us *Vibullius*, which is the name he has in Cæsar's *Commen. lib. iii.* Vibullius Rufus traveled night and day, without allowing himself any rest, till he reached Pompey's camp, who had not yet received advice of Cæsar's arrival, but was no sooner informed of the taking of Oricum and Apollonia, than he immediately decamped, and by long marches reached Oricum before Cæsar.

to such straits, both by sea and land, that he was under the necessity of seeking a battle.—Accordingly, he attacked Pompey's intrenchments, and bade him defiance daily. In most of these attacks and skirmishes he had the advantage; but one day was in danger of losing his whole army. Pompey fought with so much valour, that he put Cæsar's whole detachment to flight, after having killed two thousand men upon the spot; but was either unable or afraid to pursue his blow, and enter their camp with them. Cæsar said to his friends on the occasion, "This day the victory had been the enemy's had their general known how to conquer*."

Pompey's troops, elated with this success, were in great haste to come to a decisive battle. Nay, Pompey himself seemed to give into their opinions by writing to the kings, the generals, and cities, in his interest, in the style of a conqueror. Yet all this while he dreaded the issue of a general action, believing it much better, by length of time, by famine and fatigue, to tire out men who had been ever invincible in arms, and long accustomed to conquer when they fought together. Besides, he knew the infirmities of age had made them unfit for the other operations of war, for long marches and counter-marches, for digging trenches and building forts,

* Yet it may be observed, in defence of Pompey, that as his troops were raw and unexperienced, it was not amiss to try them in many skirmishes and light attacks, before he hazarded a general engagement with an army of veterans. Many instances of that kind might be produced from the conduct of the ablest generals. And we are persuaded, that if Pompey had attempted to force Cæsar's camp he would have been repulsed with loss and disgrace. Pompey's greatest error seems to have been, his suffering himself to be brought to an action at last by the importunity of his officers and soldiers against his better judgment.

and that, therefore, they wished for nothing so much as a battle. Pompey, with all these arguments, found it no easy matter to keep his army quiet.

After this last engagement, Cæsar was in such want of provisions, that he was forced to decamp, and he took his way through Athamania into Thessaly. This added so much to the high opinion Pompey's soldiers had of themselves, that it was impossible to keep it within bounds. They cried out with one voice, "Cæsar is fled." Some called upon the general to pursue: some, to pass over into Italy. Others sent their friends and servants to Rome, to engage houses near the *forum*, for the convenience of soliciting the great offices of state. And not a few went of their own accord to Cornelia, who had been privately lodged in Lesbos, to congratulate her upon the conclusion of the war.

On this great emergency, a council of war was called; in which Afranius gave it as his opinion, "That they ought immediately to regain Italy, for that was the great prize aimed at in the war. Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Spain, and both the Gauls would soon submit to those who were masters there. What should affect Pompey still more was, that his native country, just by, stretched out her hands to him as a suppliant; and it could not be consistent with his honour to let her remain under such indignities, and in so disgraceful a vassalage to the slaves and flatterers of tyrants." But Pompey thought it would neither be for his reputation, to fly a second time from Cæsar, and again to be pursued, when Fortune put it in his power to pursue; nor agreeable to the laws of piety, to leave his father-in-law Scipio, and many other persons of consular dignity in Greece and Thessaly, a prey to Cæsar, with all their treasures and forces. As for Rome, he should take the best care of her, by fixing the scene of war at the

greatest distance from her; that, without feeling its calamities, or perhaps hearing the report of them, she might quietly wait for the conqueror.

This opinion prevailing, he set out in pursuit of Cæsar, with a resolution not to hazard a battle, but to keep near enough to hold him, as it were, besieged, and to wear him out with famine. This he thought the best method he could take; and a report was, moreover, brought him, of its being whispered among the equestrian order, "That as soon as they had taken off Cæsar, they could do nothing better than take off him too." Some say, this was the reason why he did not employ Cato in any service of importance, but, upon his march against Cæsar, sent him to the seacoast to take care of the baggage, lest, after he had destroyed Cæsar, Cato should soon oblige him to lay down his commission.

While he thus softly followed the enemy's steps, a complaint was raised against him, and urged with much clamour, that he was not exercising his generalship upon Cæsar, but upon the senate and the whole commonwealth, in order that he might for ever keep the command in his hands, and have those for his guards and servants, who had a right to govern the world. Domitius Ænobarbus, to increase the *odium*, always called him Agamemnon, or king of kings. Favonius piqued him no less with a jest, than others by their unseasonable severity; he went about crying, "My friends, we shall eat no figs in Tusculum this year." And Lucius Afranius, who lost the forces in Spain, and was accused of having betrayed them into the enemy's hand, now when he saw Pompey avoid a battle, said, "He was surprised that his accusers should make any difficulty of fighting that merchant (as they called him) who trafficked for provinces."

These and many other like sallies of ridicule had such an effect upon Pompey, who was ambitious of being spoken well of by the world, and had too much deference for the opinions of his friends, that he gave up his own better judgment, to follow them in the career of their false hopes and prospects. A thing which would have been unpardonable in the pilot or master of a ship, much more in the commander in chief of so many nations, and such numerous armies. He had often commended the physician who gives no indulgence to the whimsical longings of his patients, and yet he humoured the sickly cravings of his army, and was afraid to give them pain, though necessary for the preservation of their life and being. For who can say that army was in a sound and healthy state, when some of the officers went about the camp canvassing for the offices of consul and prætor; and others, namely Spinther, Domitius, and Scipio, were engaged in quarrels and cabals about Cæsar's highpriesthood, as if their adversary had been only a Tigranes, a king of Armenia, or a prince of the Nabathæans; and not that Cæsar and that army, who had stormed a thousand cities, subdued above three hundred nations, gained numberless battles of the Germans and Gauls, taken a million of prisoners, and killed as many fairly in the field. Notwithstanding all this, they continued loud and tumultuous in their demands of a battle, and when they came to the plains of Pharsalia, forced Pompey to call a council of war. Labienus, who had the command of the cavalry, rose up first, and took an oath, "That he would not return from the battle, till he had put the enemy to flight." All the other officers swore the same.

The night following, Pompey had this dream. He thought, "he entered his own theatre, and was

received with loud plaudits; after which, he adorned the temple of Venus *the Victorious* with many spoils." This vision, on one side, encouraged him, and on the other alarmed him. He was afraid that Cæsar, who was a descendant of Venus, would be aggrandized at his expense. Besides, a panic* fear ran through the camp, the noise of which awakened him. And about the morning watch, over Cæsar's camp, where every thing was perfectly quiet, there suddenly appeared a great light, from which a stream of fire issued in the form of a torch, and fell upon that of Pompey. Cæsar himself says, he saw it as he was going his rounds.

Cæsar was preparing, at break of day, to march to Scotusa†; his soldiers were striking their tents, and the servants, and beasts of burden, were already in motion, when his scouts brought intelligence, that they had seen arms handed about in the enemy's camp, and perceived a noise and bustle, which indicated an approaching battle. After these, others came and assured him, that the first ranks were drawn up.

Upon this Cæsar said, "The long-wished day is come; on which we shall fight with men, and not with want and famine." Then he immediately ordered the red mantle to be put up before his pavilion, which, among the Romans, is the signal of a battle. The soldiers no sooner beheld it, than they left their tents as they were, and ran to arms with loud shouts,

* *Panic* fears were so called, from the terror which the god *Pan* is said to have struck the enemies of Greece with, at the battle of Marathon.

† Scotusa was a city of Thessaly. Cæsar was persuaded that Pompey would not come to action, and therefore chose to march in search of provisions, as well as to harass the enemy with frequent movements, and to watch an opportunity, in some of those movements, to fall upon them.

and every expression of joy. And when the officers began to put them in order of battle, each man fell into his proper rank as quietly, and with as much skill and ease, as a *chorus* in a tragedy.

Pompey* placed himself in his right wing over against Antony, and his father-in-law, Scipio, in the centre, opposite Domitius Calvinus. His left wing was commanded by Lucius Domitius, and supported by the cavalry; for they were almost all ranged on that side, in order to break in upon Cæsar, and cut off the tenth legion, which was accounted the bravest in his army, and in which he used to fight in person. Cæsar seeing the the enemy's left wing so well guarded with horse, and fearing the excellence of

* It is somewhat surprising, that the account which Cæsar himself has left us of this memorable battle should meet with contradiction. Yet so it is; Plutarch differs widely from him, and Appian from both. According to Cæsar (*Bell. Civil. lib. iii.*), Pompey was on the left with the two legions, which Cæsar had returned him at the beginning of the war. Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, was in the centre, with the legions he had brought from Syria, and the reinforcements sent by several kings and states of Asia. The Cilician legion, and some cohorts which had served in Spain, were in the right, under the command of Afranius. As Pompey's right wing was covered by the Enipeus, he strengthened the left with the seven thousand horse, as well as with the slingers and archers. The whole army, consisting of forty-five thousand men, was drawn up in three lines, with very little spaces between them. In conformity to this disposition, Cæsar's army was drawn up in the following order: the tenth legion, which had on all occasions signalized itself above the rest, was placed in the right wing, and the ninth in the left; but as the latter had been considerably weakened in the action at Dyrrhachium, the eighth legion was posted so near it, as to be able to support and reinforce it upon occasion. The rest of Cæsar's forces filled up the spaces between the two wings. Mark Antony commanded the left wing, Sylla the right, and Cneius Domitius Calvinus the main body. As for Cæsar, he posted himself on the right over against Pompey, that he might have him always in sight.

their armour, sent for a detachment of six cohorts from the body of reserve, and placed them behind the tenth legion, with orders not to stir before the attack, lest they should be discovered by the enemy; but when the enemy's cavalry had charged, to make up through the foremost ranks, and then not to discharge their javelins at a distance, as brave men generally do in their eagerness to come to sword in hand, but to reserve them till they came to close fighting, and push them forward into the eyes and faces of the enemy. "For those fair young dancers," said he, "will never stand the steel aimed at their eyes, but will fly to save their handsome faces."

While Cæsar was thus employed, Pompey took a view on horseback of the order of both armies; and finding that the enemy kept their ranks with the utmost exactness, and quietly waited for the signal of battle, while his own men, for want of experience, were fluctuating and unsteady, he was afraid they would be broken upon the first onset. He therefore commanded the vanguard to stand firm in their ranks*, and in that close order to receive the enemy's charge. Cæsar condemned this measure, as not only tending to lessen the vigour of the blows, which is always greatest in the assailants, but also to damp the fire and spirit of the men; whereas those who advance with impetuosity, and animate each other with shouts, are filled with an enthusiastic valour and superior ardour.

Cæsar's army consisted of twenty-two thousand men, and Pompey's was something more than twice that number. When the signal was given on both sides, and the trumpets sounded a charge, each com-

* Vide Cæs. ubi supra.

This, however, must be said in excuse for Pompey, that generals of great fame and experience have sometimes done as he did.

mon man attended only to his own concern. But some of the principal Romans and Greeks, who only stood and looked on, when the dreadful moment of action approached, could not help considering to what the avarice and ambition of two men had brought the Roman empire. The same arms on both sides, the troops marshaled in the same manner, the same standards; in short, the strength and flower of one and the same city turned upon itself! What could be a stronger proof of the blindness and infatuation of human nature, when carried away by its passions? Had they been willing to enjoy the fruits of their labours in peace and tranquillity, the greatest and best part of the world was their own. Or, if they must have indulged their thirst of victories and triumphs, the Parthians and Germans were yet to be subdued; Scythia and India yet remained; together with a very plausible colour for their lust of new acquisitions, the pretence of civilizing barbarians. And what Scythian horse, what Parthian arrows, what Indian treasures, could have resisted seventy thousand Romans, led on by Pompey and Cæsar, with whose names those nations had long been acquainted? Into such a variety of wild and savage countries had these two generals carried their victorious arms. Whereas now they stood threatening each other with destruction; not sparing even their own glory, though to it they sacrificed their country, but prepared, one of them, to lose the reputation of being invincible, which hitherto they had both maintained. So that the alliance which they had contracted by Pompey's marriage to Julia, was from the first only an artful expedient; and her charms were to form a self-interested compact, instead of being the pledge of a sincere friendship.

The plain of Pharsalia was now covered with

men, and horses, and arms; and the signal of battle being given on both sides, the first on Cæsar's side who advanced to the charge was Caius Crastinus*, who commanded a corps of a hundred and twenty men, and was determined to make good his promise to his general. He was the first man Cæsar saw when he went out of the trenches in the morning; and upon Cæsar's asking him what he thought of the battle, he stretched out his hand, and answered in a cheerful tone, "You will gain a glorious victory, and I shall have your praise this day, either alive or dead." In pursuance of this promise, he advanced the foremost, and many following to support him, he charged into the midst of the enemy. They soon took to their swords, and numbers were slain; but as Crastinus was making his way forward, and cutting down all before him, one of Pompey's men stood to receive him, and pushed his sword in at his mouth with such force that it went through the nape of his neck. Crastinus thus killed, the fight was maintained with equal advantage on both sides.

Pompey did not immediately lead on his right wing, but often directed his eyes to the left, and lost time in waiting to see what execution his cavalry would do there. Meanwhile they had extended their squadrons to surround Cæsar, and prepared to drive the few horse he had placed in front, back upon the foot. At that instant Cæsar gave the signal: upon which his cavalry retreated a little; and the six cohorts, which consisted of three thousand men, and had been placed behind the tenth legion, advanced to surround Pompey's cavalry; and coming close up to them, raised the points of their javelins, as they had been taught, and aimed them at the face.

* So Cæsar calls him. His name in Plutarch is *Crassianus*, in Appian *Crastinus*.

Their adversaries, who were not experienced in any kind of fighting, and had not the least previous idea of this, could not parry or endure the blows upon their faces, but turned their backs, or covered their eyes with their hands, and soon fled with great dishonour. Cæsar's men took no care to pursue them, but turned their force upon the enemy's infantry, particularly upon that wing, which, now stripped of its horse, lay open to the attack on all sides. The six cohorts, therefore, took them in flank, while the tenth legion charged them in front; and they, who had hoped to surround the enemy, and now, instead of that, saw themselves surrounded, made but a short resistance, and then took to a precipitate flight.

By the great dust that was raised, Pompey conjectured the fate of his cavalry; and it is hard to say what passed in his mind at that moment. He appeared like a man moonstruck and distracted; and without considering that he was Pompey the Great, or speaking to any one, he quitted the ranks, and retired step by step towards his camp. A scene which cannot be better painted than in these verses of Homer*:

But partial Jove, espousing Hector's part,
Shot heaven-bred horror through the Grecian's heart;
Confused, unnerved in Hector's presence grown,
Amazed he stood with terrors not his own.
O'er his broad back his moony shield he threw,
And glaring round by tardy steps withdrew. POPE.

In this condition he entered his tent, where he sat down, and uttered not a word, till at last, upon finding that some of the enemy entered the camp with the fugitives, he said, "What! into my camp too!" After this short exclamation, he rose up, and dress-

* In the eleventh book of the Iliad, where he is speaking of the flight of Ajax before Hector.

ing himself in a manner suitable to his fortune, privately withdrew*. All the other legions fled; and a great slaughter was made in the camp, of the servants and others who had the care of the tents. But Asinius Pollio, who then fought on Cæsar's side, assures us, that of the regular troops there were not above six thousand men killed†.

Upon the taking of the camp, there was a spectacle which showed, in strong colours, the vanity and folly of Pompey's troops. All the tents were crowned with myrtle; the beds were strewn with flowers; the tables covered with cups, and bowls of wine set out. In short, every thing had the appearance of preparations for feasts and sacrifices, rather than for men going out to battle. To such a degree had their vain hopes corrupted them, and with such a senseless confidence they took the field!

When Pompey had got at a little distance from the camp, he quitted his horse. He had very few

* Cæsar tells us that the cohorts appointed to defend the camp made a vigorous resistance; but being at length overpowered, fled to a neighbouring mountain, where he resolved to invest them. But before he had finished his lines, want of water obliged them to abandon that post, and retire towards Larissa. Cæsar pursued the fugitives at the head of four legions (not of the fourth legion, as the authors of the Universal History erroneously say), and after six miles march came up with them. But they, not daring to engage troops flushed with victory, fled for refuge to a high hill, the foot of which was watered by a little river. Though Cæsar's men were quite spent, and ready to faint with the excessive heat and the fatigue of the whole day, yet, by his obliging manner, he prevailed upon them to cut off the conveniency of the water from the enemy by a trench. Hereupon, the unfortunate fugitives came to a capitulation, threw down their arms, and implored the clemency of the conqueror. This they all did, except some senators, who, as it was now night, escaped in the dark. Vide Cæs. Bell. lib. iii. 80.

† Cæsar says, that in all there were fifteen thousand killed, and twenty-four thousand taken prisoners.

people about him; and, as he saw he was not pursued, he went softly on, wrapped up in such thoughts as we may suppose a man to have, who had been used for thirty-four years to conquer and carry all before him, and now in his old age first came to know what it was to be defeated and to fly. We may easily conjecture what his thoughts must be, when in one short hour he had lost the glory and the power which had been growing up amidst so many wars and conflicts; and he who was lately guarded with such armies of horse and foot, and such great and powerful fleets, was reduced to so mean and contemptible an equipage that his enemies, who were in search of him, could not know him.

He passed by Larissa, and came to Tempe, where burning with thirst, he threw himself upon his face, and drank out of the river; after which, he passed through the valley, and went down to the seacoast. There he spent the remainder of the night in a poor fisherman's cabin. Next morning, about break of day, he went on board a small river-boat, taking with him such of his company as were freemen. The slaves he dismissed, bidding them go to Cæsar, and fear nothing.

As he was coasting along, he saw a ship of burden just ready to sail; the master of which was Peticus, a Roman citizen, who, though not acquainted with Pompey, knew him by sight. It happened, that this man, the night before, dreamed he saw Pompey come and talk to him, not in the figure he had formerly known him, but in mean and melancholy circumstances. He was giving the passengers an account of his dream, as persons, who have a great deal of time upon their hands, love to discourse about such matters; when, on a sudden, one of the mariners told him, he saw a little boat

rowing up to him from the land, and the crew making signs, by shaking their garments and stretching out their hands. Upon this, Peticius stood up, and could distinguish Pompey among them, in the same form as he had seen him in his dream. Then beating his head for sorrow, he ordered the seamen to let down the ship's boat, and held out his hand to Pompey to invite him aboard; for by his dress he perceived his change of fortune. Therefore, without waiting for any farther application, he took him up, and such of his companions as he thought proper, and then hoisted sail. The persons Pompey took with him, were the two Lentuli and Favonius; and a little after, they saw king Deiotarus beckoning to them with great earnestness from the shore, and took him up likewise. The master of the ship provided them the best supper he could, and when it was almost ready, Pompey, for want of a servant, was going to wash himself, but Favonius seeing it, stepped up, and both washed and anointed him. All the time he was on board, he continued to wait upon him in all the offices of a servant, even to the washing of his feet and providing his supper; insomuch, that one who saw the unaffected simplicity and sincere attachment with which Favonius performed these offices, cried out,

— The generous mind adds dignity
To every act, and nothing misbecomes it.

Pompey in the course of his voyage, sailed by Amphipolis, and from thence steered for Mitylene, to take up Cornelia and his son. As soon as he reached the island, he sent a messenger to the town with news far different from what Cornelia expected. For, by the flattering accounts which many officious persons had given her, she understood, that the dispute was decided at Dyrrhachium, and that nothing

but the pursuit of Cæsar remained to be attended to. The messenger finding her possessed with such hopes, had not power to make the usual salutations ; but expressing the greatness of Pompey's misfortunes by his tears rather than words, only told her, "She must make haste, if she had a mind to see Pompey with one ship only, and that not his own."

At this news Cornelia threw herself upon the ground, where she lay a long time insensible and speechless. At last, coming to herself, she perceived there was no time to be lost in tears and lamentations, and therefore hastened through the town to the sea. Pompey ran to meet her, and received her to his arms as she was just going to fall. While she hung upon his neck, she thus addressed him : "I see, my dear husband, your present unhappy condition is the effect of my ill fortune, and not yours. Alas ! how are you reduced to one poor vessel, who, before your marriage with Cornelia, traversed this sea with five hundred galleys ! Why did you come to see me, and not rather leave me to my evil destiny, who have loaded you too with such a weight of calamities ? How happy had it been for me to have died before I heard that Publius, my first husband, was killed by the Parthians ? How wise, had I followed him to the grave, as I once intended ? What have I lived for since, but to bring misfortunes upon Pompey the Great * ?"

* Cornelia is represented by Lucan, too, as imputing the misfortunes of Pompey to her alliance with him ; and it seems, from one part of her speech on this occasion, that she should have been given to Cæsar.

O utinam Thalamos inveni Cæsaris issem !

If there were any thing in this, it might have been a material cause of the quarrel between Cæsar and Pompey, as the latter, by means of this alliance, must have strengthened himself with the Crassian interest : for Cornelia was the relict of Publius Crassus, the son of Marcus Crassus.

Such, we are assured, was the speech of Cornelia; and Pompey answered, "Till this moment, Cornelia, you have experienced nothing but the smiles of fortune; and it was she who deceived you, because she stayed with me longer than she commonly does with her favourites. But, fated as we are, we must bear this reverse, and make another trial of her. For it is no more improbable, that we may emerge from this poor condition, and rise to great things again, than it was, that we should fall from great things into this poor condition."

Cornelia then sent to the city for her most valuable moveables and her servants. The people of Mitylene came to pay their respects to Pompey, and to invite him to their city. But he refused to go, and bade them surrender themselves to the conqueror without fear; "For Cæsar," he told them, "had great clemency." After this, he turned to Cratippus the philosopher, who was come from the town to see him, and began to complain a little of Providence, and express some doubts concerning it. Cratippus made some concessions, and, turning the discourse, encouraged him to hope better things; that he might not give him pain, by an unseasonable opposition to his arguments; else he might have answered his objections against Providence, by showing, that the state, and indeed the constitution, was in such disorder, that it was necessary it should be changed into a monarchy. Or this one question would have silenced him, "How do we know, Pompey, that, if you had conquered, you would have made a better use of your good fortune than Cæsar?" But we must leave the determinations of heaven to its superior wisdom.

As soon as his wife and his friends were embarked, he set sail, and continued his course, without touching at any port, except for water and provisions, till

he came to Attalia, a city of Pamphylia. There he was joined by some Cilician galleys; and beside picking up a number of soldiers, he found in a little time sixty senators about him. When he was informed that his fleet was still entire, and that Cato was gone to Africa with a considerable body of men which he had collected after their flight, he lamented to his friends his great error, in suffering himself to be forced into an engagement at land, and making no use of those forces, in which he was confessedly stronger; nor even taking care to fight near his fleet, that, in case of his meeting with a check at land, he might have been supplied from sea with another army, capable of making head against the enemy. Indeed, we find no greater mistake in Pompey's whole conduct, nor a more remarkable instance of Cæsar's generalship, than in removing the scene of action to such a distance from the naval forces.

However, as it was necessary to undertake something with the small means he had left, he sent to some cities, and sailed to others himself, to raise money, and to get a supply of men for his ships. But knowing the extraordinary celerity of the enemy's motions, he was afraid he might be beforehand with him, and seize all that he was preparing. He, therefore, began to think of retiring to some asylum, and proposed the matter in council. They could not think of any province in the Roman empire that would afford a safe retreat; and when they cast their eyes on the foreign kingdoms, Pompey mentioned Parthia, as the most likely to receive and protect them in their present weak condition, and afterwards to send them back with a force sufficient to retrieve their affairs. Others were of opinion, it was proper to apply to Africa, and to Juba in particular. But Theophanes of Lesbos observed, it was madness to leave Egypt, which was distant but

three days sail. Besides, Ptolemy*, who was growing towards manhood, had particular obligations to Pompey on his father's account: and should he go then, and put himself in the hands of the Parthians, the most perfidious people in the world? He represented what a wrong measure it would be, if, rather than trust to the clemency of a noble Roman, who was his father-in-law, and be contented with the second place of eminence, he would venture his person with Arsaces†, by whom even Crassus would not be taken alive. He added, that it would be extremely absurd to carry a young woman of the family of Scipio among barbarians, who thought power consisted in the display of insolence and outrage; and where, if she escaped unviolated, it would be believed she did not, after she had been with those who were capable of treating her with indignity. It is said, this last consideration only prevented his marching to the Euphrates; but it is some doubt with us, whether it was not rather his fate than his opinion, which directed his steps another way.

When it was determined that they should seek for refuge in Egypt, he set sail from Cyprus with Cornelia, in a Seleucian galley. The rest accompanied him, some in ships of war, and some in merchantmen: and they made a safe voyage. Being informed that Ptolemy was with his army at Pelusium, where he was engaged in war with his sister, he proceeded thither, and sent a messenger before

* This was Ptolemy Dionysius, the son of Ptolemy Auletes, who died in the year of Rome 704, which was the year before the battle of Pharnalia. He was now in his fourteenth year.

† From this passage it appears, that Arsaces was the common name of the kings of Parthia. For it was not the proper name of the king then upon the throne, nor of him who was at war with Crassus.

him to notify his arrival, and to entreat the king's protection.

Ptolemy was very young, and Photinus, his prime minister, called a council of his ablest officers; though their advice had no more weight than he was pleased to allow it. He ordered each, however, to give his opinion. But who can, without indignation, consider, that the fate of Pompey the Great was to be determined by Photinus, an eunuch; by Theodotus, a man of Chios, who was hired to teach the prince rhetoric; and by Achilles, an Egyptian? For among the king's chamberlains and tutors, these had the greatest influence over him and were the persons he most consulted. Pompey lay at anchor at some distance from the place, waiting the determination of this respectable board; while he thought it beneath him to be indebted to Cæsar for his safety. The council were divided in their opinions; some advising the prince to give him an honourable reception; and others to send him an order to depart. But Theodotus, to display his eloquence, insisted that both were wrong. "If you receive him," said he, "you will have Cæsar for your enemy, and Pompey for your master. If you order him off, Pompey may one day revenge the affront, and Cæsar resent your not having put him in his hands: the best method, therefore, is to send for him, and put him to death. By this means you will do Cæsar a favour, and have nothing to fear from Pompey." He added, with a smile, "Dead men do not bite."

This advice being approved of, the execution of it was committed to Achilles. In consequence of which, he took with him Septimius, who had formerly been one of Pompey's officers, and Salvius, who had also acted under him as a centurion, with three

or four assistants, and made up to Pompey's ship, where his principal friends and officers had assembled, to see how the affair went on. When they perceived there was nothing magnificent in their reception, nor suitable to the hopes which Theophanes had conceived, but that a few men only, in a fishing-boat, came to wait upon them, such want of respect appeared a suspicious circumstance; and they advised Pompey, while he was out of the reach of missive weapons, to get out to the main sea.

Meantime, the boat approaching, Septimius spoke first, addressing Pompey, in Latin, by the title of *Imperator*. Then Achilles saluted him in Greek, and desired him to come into the boat, because the water was very shallow towards the shore, and a galley must strike upon the sands. At the same time they saw several of the king's ships getting ready, and the shore covered with troops, so that if they would have changed their minds, it was then too late; besides, their distrust would have furnished the assassins with a pretence for their injustice. He, therefore, embraced Cornelia, who lamented his sad exit before it happened; and ordered two centurions, one of his enfranchised slaves, named Philip, and a servant called Scenes, to get into the boat before him. When Achilles had hold of his hand, and he was going to step in himself, he turned to his wife and son, and repeated that verse of Sophocles,

Seek'st thou a tyrant's door? then farewell freedom!
Though *FREE* as air before——

These were the last words he spoke to them.

As there was a considerable distance between the galley and the shore, and he observed that not a man in the boat showed him the least civility, or even spoke to him, he looked at Septimius, and said,

"Methinks, I remember you to have been my fellow-soldier;" but he answered only with a nod, without testifying any regard or friendship. A profound silence again taking place, Pompey took out a paper, in which he had written a speech in Greek, that he designed to make to Ptolemy, and amused himself with reading it.

When they approached the shore, Cornelia, with her friends in the galley, watched the event with great anxiety. She was a little encouraged, when she saw a number of the king's great officers coming down to the strand, in all appearance to receive her husband and do him honour. But the moment Pompey was taking hold of Philip's hand, to raise him with more ease, Septimius came behind, and run him through the body; after which Salvius and Achillas also drew their swords. Pompey took his robe in both hands, and covered his face; and without saying or doing the least thing unworthy of him, submitted to his fate; only uttering a groan, while they despatched him with many blows. He was then just fifty-nine years old, for he was killed the day after his birth-day*.

Cornelia, and her friends in the galleys, upon seeing him murdered, gave a shriek that was heard to the shore, and weighed anchor immediately. Their flight was assisted by a brisk gale; as they got out more to sea; so that the Egyptians gave up their design of pursuing them. The murderers having

* Some divines, in saying that Pompey never prospered after he presumed to enter the sanctuary in the temple at Jerusalem, intimate, that his misfortunes were owing to that profanation; but we forbear, with Plutarch, to comment on the providential determinations of the Supreme Being. Indeed he fell a sacrifice to as vile a set of people as he had before insulted; for, the Jews excepted, there was not upon earth a more despicable race of men than the cowardly cruel Egyptians.

cut off Pompey's head, threw the body out of the boat naked, and left it exposed to all who were desirous of such a sight. Philip stayed till their curiosity was satisfied, and then washed the body with seawater, and wrapped it in one of his own garments, because he had nothing else at hand. The next thing was to look out for wood for the funeral-pile; and casting his eyes over the shore, he spied the old remains of a fishing-boat; which though not large, would make a sufficient pile for a poor naked body that was not quite entire.

While he was collecting the pieces of plank and putting them together, an old Roman, who had made some of his first campaigns under Pompey, came up, and said to Philip, "Who are you that are preparing the funeral of Pompey the Great?" Philip answered, "I am his freedman." "But you shall not," said the old Roman, "have this honour entirely to yourself. As a work of piety offers itself, let me have a share in it; that I may not absolutely repent my having passed so many years in a foreign country; but, to compensate many misfortunes, may have the consolation of doing some of the last honours* to the greatest general Rome ever produced." In this manner was the funeral of Pompey conducted.

Next day *Lutius Lentulus*, who knew nothing of what had passed, because he was upon his voyage from *Cyprus*, arrived upon the *Egyptian* shore, and as he was coasting along, saw the funeral pile, and Philip, whom he did not yet know, standing by it. Upon which he said to himself, "Who has finished his days, and is going to leave his remains upon this shore?" adding, after a short pause, with a sigh, "Ah! Pompey the Great! perhaps thou mayst be

* Of touching and wrapping up the body.

the man." Lentulus soon after went on shore, and was taken and slain.

Such was the end of Pompey the Great. As for Cæsar, he arrived not long after in Egypt, which he found in great disorder. When they came to present the head, he turned from it, and the person that brought it, as a sight of horror. He received the seal, but it was with tears. The device was a lion holding a sword. The two assassins, Achillas and Photinus, he put to death; and the king, being defeated in battle, perished in the river. Theodotus, the rhetorician, escaped the vengeance of Cæsar, by leaving Egypt; but he wandered about, a miserable fugitive, and was hated wherever he went. At last, Marcus Brutus, who killed Cæsar, found the wretch, in his province of Asia, and put him to death, after having made him suffer the most exquisite tortures. The ashes of Pompey were carried to Cornelia, who buried them in his lands near Alba*.

* Pompey has, in all appearance, and in all considerations of his character, had less justice done him by historians than any other man of his time. His popular humanity, his military and political skill, his prudence (which he sometimes unfortunately gave up), his natural bravery and generosity, his conjugal virtues, which (though sometimes impeached) were both naturally and morally great; his cause, which was certainly, in its original interests, the cause of Rome; all these circumstances intitled him to a more distinguished and more respectable character than any of his historians have thought proper to afford him. One circumstance, indeed, renders the accounts that the writers, who rose after the established monarchy, have given of his opposition, perfectly reconcileable to the prejudice which appears against him; or rather to the reluctance which they have shown to that praise which they seemed to have felt that he deserved: When the commonwealth was no more, and the supporters of his interests had fallen with it, then history itself, not to mention poetry, departed from its proper privilege of impartiality, and even Plutarch made a sacrifice to imperial power.

AGESILAUS AND POMPEY COMPARED.

SUCH is the account we had to give of the lives of these two great men ; and, in drawing up the parallel, we shall previously take a short survey of the difference in their character.

In the first place, Pompey rose to power, and established his reputation, by just and laudable means ; partly by the strength of his own genius, and partly by his services to Sylla, in freeing Italy from various attempts of despotism. Whereas Agesilaus came to the throne by methods equally immoral and irreligious ; for it was by accusing Leoty-chidas of bastardy, whom his brother had acknowledged as his legitimate son, and by eluding the oracle relative to a lame king*.

In the next place, Pompey paid all due respect to Sylla during his life, and took care to see his remains honourably interred, notwithstanding the opposition it met with from Lepidus ; and afterwards he gave his daughter to Faustus, the son of Sylla. On the other hand, Agesilaus shook off Lysander upon a slight pretence, and treated him with great indignity. Yet the services Pompey received from Sylla were not greater than those he had rendered him ; whereas Agesilaus was appointed king of Sparta by Lysander's means, and afterwards captain-general of Greece.

In the third place, Pompey's offences against the

* See the Life of Agesilaus.

laws and the constitution were principally owing to his alliances, to his supporting either Cæsar or Scipio (whose daughter he had married) in their unjust demands. Agesilaus not only gratified the passion of his son, by sparing the life of Sphodrias, whose death ought to have atoned for the injuries he had done the Athenians: but he likewise screened Phœbidas, who was guilty of an egregious infraction of the league with the Thebans, and it was visibly for the sake of his crime that he took him into his protection. In short, whatever troubles Pompey brought upon the Romans, either through ignorance or a timorous complaisance for his friends, Agesilaus brought as great distresses upon the Spartans, through a spirit of obstinacy and resentment; for such was the spirit that kindled the Bœotian war.

If, when we are mentioning their faults, we may take notice of their fortune, the Romans could have no previous idea of that of Pompey; but the Lacedæmonians were sufficiently forewarned of the danger of a lame reign, and yet Agesilaus would not suffer them to avail themselves of that warning*. Nay, supposing Leotychidas a mere stranger, and as much a bastard as he was; yet the family of Eurytion could easily have supplied Sparta with a king who was neither spurious, nor maimed, had not Lysander been industrious enough to render the oracle obscure for the sake of Agesilaus.

* It is true, the latter part of Agesilaus's reign was unfortunate, but the misfortunes were owing to his malice against the Thebans, and to his fighting (contrary to the laws of Lycargus) the same enemy so frequently, that he taught them to beat him at last.

Nevertheless, the oracle, as we have observed in a former note, probably meant the lameness of the kingdom, in having but one king instead of two, and not the lameness of the king.

As to their political talents, there never was a finer measure than that of Agesilaus, when, in the distress of the Spartans how to proceed against the fugitives after the battle of Leuctra, he decreed that the laws should be silent for that day. We have nothing of Pompey's that can possibly be compared to it. On the contrary, he thought himself exempted from observing the laws he had made, and that his transgressing them showed his friends his superior power: whereas Agesilaus, when under a necessity of contravening the laws, to save a number of citizens, found out an expedient which saved both the laws and the criminals. I must also reckon among his political virtues, his inimitable behaviour upon the receipt of the *scytale*, which ordered him to leave Asia in the height of his success. For he did not, like Pompey, serve the commonwealth only in affairs which contributed to his own greatness; the good of his country was his great object, and, with a view to that, he renounced such power and so much glory as no man had either before or after him, except Alexander the Great.

If we view them in another light, and consider their military performances; the trophies which Pompey erected were so numerous, the armies he led so powerful, and the pitched battles he won so extraordinary, that I suppose Xenophon himself would not compare the victories of Agesilaus with them; though that historian, on account of his other excellences, has been indulged the peculiar privilege of saying what he pleased of his hero.

There was a difference too, I think, in their behaviour to their enemies, in point of equity and moderation. Agesilaus was bent upon enslaving Thebes, and destroyed Messene; the former the city from which his family sprung, the latter Sparta's

sister colony*; and in the attempt he was near ruining Sparta itself. On the other hand, Pompey, after he had conquered the pirates, bestowed cities on such as were willing to change their way of life; and when he might have led Tigranes, king of Armenia, captive at the wheels of his chariot, he rather chose to make him an ally; on which occasion he made use of that memorable expression, "I prefer the glory that will last for ever, to that of a day."

But if the preeminence in military virtue is to be decided by such actions and counsels as are most characteristical of the great and wise commander, we shall find that the Lacedæmonian leaves the Roman far behind. In the first place, he never abandoned his city, though it was besieged by seventy thousand men, while he had but a handful of men to oppose them with, and those lately defeated in the battle of Leuctra. But Pompey† upon Cæsar's advancing with five thousand three hundred men only, and taking one little town in Italy, left Rome in a panic; either meanly yielding to so trifling a force, or failing in his intelligence of their real numbers. In his flight he carried off his own wife and children, but he left those of the other citizens in a defenceless state; when he ought either

* For Hercules was born at Thebes, and Messene was a colony of the Heraclidæ, as well as Sparta. The Latin and French translations have mistaken the sense of this passage.

† Here is another egregious instance of Plutarch's prejudice against the character of Pompey. It is certain that he left not Rome till he was well convinced of the impossibility of maintaining it against the arms of Cæsar. For he was not only coming against it with a force much more powerful than is here mentioned; but he had rendered even a siege unnecessary, by a previous distribution of his gold amongst the citizens.

to have stayed and conquered for his country, or to have accepted such conditions as the conqueror might impose, who was both his fellow-citizen and his relation. A little while before, he thought it insupportable to prolong the term of his commission, and to grant him another consulship; and now he suffered him to take possession of the city, and to tell Metellus, "That he considered him, and all the other inhabitants, as his prisoners."

If it is the principal business of a general to know how to bring the enemy to a battle when he is stronger, and how to avoid being compelled to one when he is weaker, Agesilaus understood that rule perfectly well, and, by observing it, continued always invincible. But Pompey could never take Cæsar at a disadvantage; on the contrary, he suffered Cæsar to take the advantage of him, by being brought to hazard all in an action at land. The consequence of which was, that Cæsar became master of his treasures, his provisions, and the sea itself, when he might have preserved them all, had he known how to avoid a battle.

As for the apology that is made for Pompey in this case, it reflects the greatest dishonour upon a general of his experience. If a young officer had been so much dispirited and disturbed by the tumults and clamours among his troops, as to depart from his better judgment, it would have been pardonable. But for Pompey the Great, whose camp the Romans called their country, and whose tent their senate, while they gave the name of rebels and traitors to those who stayed and acted as prætors and consuls in Rome; for Pompey, who had never been known to serve as a private soldier, but had made all his campaigns with the greatest reputation as general; for such a one to be forced, by the scoffs

of Favonius and Domitius, and the fear of being called Agamemnon, to risk the fate of the whole empire, and of liberty, upon the cast of a single die—who can bear it?—If he dreaded only present-infamy, he ought to have made a stand at first, and to have fought for the city of Rome; and not, after calling his flight a manœuvre of Themistocles, to look upon the delaying a battle in Thessaly as a dishonour. For the gods had not appointed the fields of Pharsalia as the lists in which he was to contend for the empire of Rome, nor was he summoned by a herald to make his appearance there, or otherwise forfeit the palm to another. There were innumerable plains and cities; nay, his command of the sea left the whole earth to his choice, had he been determined to imitate Maximus, Marius, or Lucullus, or Agesilaus himself.

Agesilaus certainly had no less tumults to encounter in Sparta, when the Thebans challenged him to come out and fight for his dominions: nor were the calumnies and slanders he met with in Egypt from the madness of the king less grating, when he advised that prince to lie still for a time. Yet by pursuing the sage measures he had first fixed upon, he not only saved the Egyptians in spite of themselves, but kept Sparta from sinking in the earthquake that threatened her; nay, he erected there the best trophy imaginable against the Thebans; for by keeping the Spartans from their ruin, which they were so obstinately bent upon, he put it in their power to conquer afterward. Hence it was that Agesilaus was praised by the persons whom he had saved by violence; and Pompey, who committed an error in complaisance to others, was condemned by those who drew him into it. Some say, indeed, that he was deceived by his father-in-law Scipio, who, wanting to convert to his own use the treasures

he had brought from Asia, had concealed them for that purpose, and hastened the action, under pretence that the supplies would soon fail. But, supposing that true, a general should not have suffered himself to be so easily deceived, nor, in consequence of being so deceived, have hazarded the loss of all. Such are the principal strokes that mark their military characters.

As to their voyages to Egypt, the one fled thither out of necessity; the other, without any necessity or sufficient cause, listed himself in the service of a barbarous prince, to raise a fund for carrying on the war with the Greeks. So that if we accuse the Egyptians for their behaviour to Pompey, the Egyptians blame Agesilaus as much for his behaviour to them. The one was betrayed by those in whom he put his trust; the other was guilty of a breach of trust, in deserting those whom he went to support, and going over to their enemies.

END OF VOL. V.